

A
SUCCINCT HISTORY
OF
ANCIENT and MODERN
PERSECUTIONS.

Together with
A SHORT ESSAY ON ASSASSINATIONS
and CIVIL WARS.

BY
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*Regnabit Sanguine multo
ad Regnum Quisquis
venit ab Exilio.
Sueton. in Tiber.*

L O N D O N :

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STUDY OF THE

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THE PREFACE.



*THE present State and Circum-
stance of this happy Nation, just
relieved from the Miseries and
Terrors of an unnatural Rebel-
lion, will sufficiently justify the
Publication of a Work of this
Kind at this Time, as the Minds of the Gene-
rality of the People cannot be more effectually
warned from relapsing into Disquiet and Dis-
affection to the present happy Establishment, and
the Madness of thinking of a popish Pretender
as a Person fit to expect Happiness under, than
by such Accounts as will instil into their Minds
a just Dread and Horror of popish Persecution,
and of that worst of popish Heresies, persecuting
Principles. So long as I could speak, so long as
I could discharge my Duty in the Pulpit, I have
endeavour'd to instil into the Hearts and Minds
of the People committed to my Care, Loyalty*

to the present Government; and endeavour'd to show them the Blessings of the happy Constitution they lived under; that since the Protestant Succession took Place, this Constitution was never broke in upon in any one particular Instance; but that both our Civil and Religious Rights and Privileges have ever been strictly and religiously preserved. Amongst the Moral and Christian Duties which I have endeavour'd to press upon my Hearers, I have ever recommended to them Obedience and Submission to the present Government, as both a Christian and Moral Duty; and which, as such, is particularly recommended by St. Paul, when he exhorts, that every Soul should be subject to the higher Powers. I have also laid before them, in the strongest Colours, the false Doctrines of Popery, and the idolatrous Worship and superstitious Practices of the Church of Rome; which are as destructive of Christian Morality, as their cruel and persecuting Spirit is of that Christian Charity, which is so frequently and so earnestly recommended by Christ and his Apostles. In this Manner, for the Space of near thirty Years, have I begun and ended my Preaching amongst the People committed to my Charge. And now, that by the Infirmities of old Age, I am disabled from appearing any more in the Pulpit, I was desirous not to be quite idle, but to finish my Course in a publick Avowing of those Principles I have constantly pursued in my own Practice, and as constantly recommended to the Practice of others. There is nothing I would more earnestly wish, than to end my Life, in protesting publickly against the cruel, persecuting

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cuting Spirit of Popery ; and declaring, that, as I believe the Protestant Religion, as profess'd in the Church of Eugland, is true Scripture Christianity ; so I do in my Conscience most sacredly think, that all the Ends of Government, and the Securing the most valuable Rights of Mankind, have been most steadily pursued and successfully attained to by their late and present Majesties. From these Principles I have, for my own Part, never deviated, and, therefore, cannot but have the most terrible Apprehensions of any Revolution that should happen in Favour of a popish Pretender, and should bring about a popish Government. I frankly own that I cannot but dread a Revolution, that would bring us back to the first Years of Henry the Eighth, and renew the Burnings of Queen Mary. To express my Sentiments, in regard to these Things, I have attempted this short but faithful History, a great Part of which is taken up in the Accounts of the Cruelties of popish Kings to Protestant Subjects ; and I most earnestly pray to Heaven, that it may be of some Use to warn this happy Nation, of what might be expected under a popish Monarch, and to teach all who call themselves Christians, both in Speculation and Practice, to abhor all persecuting Principles.

I should have ended here this short Preface, were it not for the Notion which has been industriously propagated amongst all Ranks of People, since the late unnatural Rebellion begun, as if it was his natural Right the Pretender came to vindicate and assert. To

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this I cannot but answer, that it is strange that any Man should be thought to have a natural, hereditary, indefeasable Right, to be the King, the Governor of a whole Nation; when no Gentleman can pretend to have a natural, hereditary, indefeasable Right, to be even only a Justice of Peace in the Country where he lives, tho' that Office has been for ever, such a Number of Years, possess'd by his Ancestors and the Predecessors in his Estate. Great Divisions, and indeed often Civil Wars, must, and do too often attend new Elections in elective Monarchies. And it is for this Reason that hereditary Right is allow'd in those Places where it obtains: In all which notwithstanding, it is ever settled by the Community, and with the Consent of those who are to be govern'd, and may be by them circumscribed, limited, or altered, as they think will conduce most to the publick Good. This is a Proposition, which I believe can hardly be denied even in France, where the Succession has been so often interrupted. A learned Member of the French Academy of Inscriptions, l'Abbe (a) Vertot has proved, that the French Crown, in the two first Families of the Kings of France, was at once both hereditary and elective; and that at that Time the French kept, indeed, to the Family upon the Throne, but might chuse, out of that Family, whom they thought fit to be their King; and this is exactly our Case since the Revolution. I know very well, that this

(a) See Memoires, &c. de l'Academie des Inscriptions, &c. T. 6. p. 465. — 510. Ed. Amst. Duod.

learned

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learned Abbe has been answer'd by (b) another Member of the same Academy; but I never heard that he recanted his Opinion; and I would only desire to know, whether, in any popish Kingdom, the indefeasible, hereditary Right of a Protestant Successor was ever acknowledged. This the Pope cannot pretend ever was, or ever can be, without flatly contradicting the Bulls and Breves of his Predecessor Clement the Eighth: For we are told by Cambden, that after the Death of Queen Elizabeth, the English Catholicks were forbid by that Pope to acknowledge any one for King, though never so nearly allied in Blood, except it should be one that should not only tolerate the Roman Catholick Religion, but also endeavour to promote it with all his Might and Power, and who should take the Oath that was taken by his Ancestors that he would do so: And according to the same Maxim, Clement the Eighth, and his immediate Predecessors, acted with relation to Henry the Fourth of France: For it is very well known, that not only those of the League, but even the Catholicks of his own Party, would not acknowledge him to be their King till he had abjured the Protestant Religion. And even after he had done that, after he had declared himself a Catholick, the Pope would not for a long Time give him Absolution, under Pretence that he could not be assured of the Sincerity of his Conversion. And on this very Account nothing could be more insolent, than his Treat-

(b) See Memoire ——— par M. de Föncemagne. Mem. de l'Acad des Inscript. 440. — 516.

ment of the Duke of Nevers, that King's Ambassador, who was himself a Man of the first Quality. The Pope, in short, told that Duke in an Audience, that, without an (c) Angel should come down from Heaven to give him Assurances of it, he would never believe the King was converted. He bestowed the highest Commendations upon the Catholics of the League, that had hitherto refused to own him for their King, and, on the contrary, spoke very ill of those Catholics, by whom he had been acknowledged. Not only Davila, but also the Jesuit Daniel, whose History was very early put into the Hands of the present King of France, highly applauds this, which he calls a most prudent and glorious Conduct of that Pope. And, excepting perhaps Thuanus, I can challenge the whole French Nation to show any French Roman Catholick Author, that has said directly, and in so many Words, that though Henry the Fourth had an undoubted, unquestioned, hereditary Right; yet the French were in the Wrong, not to acknowledge him for their King, while he remained a Protestant.

(c) Nisi angelus de Cœlo lapsus id in aurem insusurrasset. Thuanus T. 4. l. 108. p. 1334. V. Daniel. Hist. de France, T. 6. p. 515. V. Davila l. 14. p. 888. — 893. Ed. Venice, 4to. 1630.



A
SUCCINCT HISTORY
 OF
 ANCIENT and MODERN
PERSECUTIONS, &c.



THE Use and Advantage that a Treatise, giving a general though short Account of the bloody Persecutions and Massacres of the Church of *Rome*, may be of at this Time, when we have but too many among us boldly and wickedly abetting its Principles, cannot but be evident to every impartial Person: Never, indeed, could such a Work have been more seasonable, since we cannot but remember, with the utmost Terror, that Popery has of late been very near returning upon us with much more dangerous Circumstances than even those we were under at the late Revolution: Then some Regard was yet preserved for a
 Church

Church and Religion, that had on their Side the Sanction of publick Authority : And King *James the Second* could not but remember, that he ow'd his Crown to the Church of *England* ; or, however, to the Opposition which the Body of the Clergy of that Church had made to the Bill of Exclusion, And to this it may be added, that whatever might be the Designs of wicked and blood-thirsty Men, yet the Event shew'd, that Things were not at that Time ripe for an open and avowed Persecution. If the Nation was then so much alarm'd at the very Dawnings of Persecution ; if the Invasion of the Rights of our Colleges and Universities ; the Prosecution of the Seven Bishops ; the putting a few popish Lords into some of the great Offices of State against Law, and the assuming a Power to dispense with all Laws : If, I say, these Attempts, in Favour of Popery and Arbitrary Power, awakened the Nation, and put them upon that Defence of our Religion and Liberties, which brought about the late happy and glorious Revolution ; It is plain, that, in those Times, the forcing of Popery and Slavery upon us, was a Design that was not likely to succeed.

But the Case alas would have been quite different, if the late audacious Attempts of a lawless Rabble had succeeded in setting a popish Pretender upon the Throne of these Kingdoms. For as this Revolution could have been brought about only by the Assistance of the Arms of *France* and *Spain*, we may easily know what Security for its Religion and Liberties a conquer'd Nation must expect ; and how safe either must be, when guarded by *French* Dragoons and *Irish* Rapparees, who must, with the Help of our own unnatural Rebels, have been the glorious Instruments of this Conquest.

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To And give me Leave to ask every thinking Person, What can a Protestant conquer'd Nation expect from a popish Conqueror, but Persecution; but *Irish* Massacres, and *French* Military Execution. If Protestants, who have supported the Pretensions of popish Princes, are always persecuted by them the Moment they are in quiet Possession of the Crown, which was in *England*, the Case of the *Suffolk* and *Norfolk* People under Queen *Mary*: What must they then expect, when Force only makes them submit to one, whom, for near three Score Years, they have kept from what, he thinks, was his Right.

That we may therefore be for ever guarded against this popish Persecution, the never-failing Consequence of a popish King being set to rule over a Protestant Nation, by the Remembrance of those bloody Persecutions and Massacres the Papists have in all Ages been guilty of, in regard to those of other Religions, I have drawn up this succinct History not only of them, but of Persecutions in general, that they may serve as terrible Examples and Warnings to a Nation happily out of all Danger of them, unless by its own Follies and Distraction. This I did at the Request of a very worthy Gentleman lately deceased, who, like his great Father the learned Dean of *Norwich*, ever abhor'd Popery and Slavery, and who, as he was zealous for the Liberties of his Country, abhor'd that Spurning at even legal Authority, that declaring a Resistance against King and Parliament acting jointly together, which of late Years has been too publickly avow'd and defended. He was ever constantly zealous for the Revolution and the Protestant Succession, and was not so weak as to think that this Government could be supported by railing at the Administration of it: Our agreeing in Principles and Practice, with relation

lation to publick Matters, was the Foundation of that Friendship, with which he honour'd me for many Years; and it is much to his Honour, that he was pleas'd even with the weakest Attempt that I or any other offer'd in Defence of what he thought of the utmost Consequence to our publick or private Welfare in this World, and our eternal Salvation in the World to come.

In this short Account I shall endeavour to lay before the Reader a View of Persecution in its several Stages, and by a fair and impartial Relation of Facts, show, that it is not, as Infidels pretend, merely of Christian Growth; but that the Heathens have always persecuted those who would set up a new Worship, contrary to that which was established by Law; and every one must be sensible, that the *New Testament* affords us Instances enough, that the same Spirit of Persecution prevailed amongst the *Jews*. And that Christians, in the three first Centuries, absolutely and utterly disclaimed all Sorts of Persecution, as being contrary to the whole Tenour of the Gospel, and to the true Spirit of Christianity. Though to keep up to that just and unbiass'd Impartiality, which the Reader will find the most strict Attachment to in the whole Course of this Work, I shall be obliged afterwards to acknowledge withal, that as all Sects and Parties of Christians, when persecuted, have ever inveigh'd against Persecution in the most bitter Terms, yet when they came to be uppermost, they have returned upon their Adversaries that Persecution they before suffer'd, and of which they had so loudly complain'd.

All who will impartially look into the Histories of former Ages will find, that Persecution of those, who differ from us in Religion, has been both

both the Principle and Practice of all Nations, and of all Religions: *Greeks and Romans, Jews and Heathens*, as well as *Christians*, have persecuted those who maintained Doctrines contrary to the national Religion, and endeavour'd to introduce a Worship contrary to the Established Worship of the Nation, to that Worship that had the Sanction of the Laws, and was enacted by publick Authority. The great Importance of Religion to every Man in particular, as in all Religions every Man thinks his present and future Welfare in this Life and in another to be concern'd; the Influence that Religion has upon Government, and its Tendency to promote and preserve the publick Peace and Order of the World, its being the great Tye and Cement of Men's Affections to one another; and with these the Zeal with which every Man maintains his own Opinion, especially in Things which he looks upon to be of the highest Consequence: The Impatience with which most People bear Contradiction about the merest Trifles, and much more about Things they look upon to be venerable and sacred, but which those of different Religions are apt to ridicule and expose, are in general the Causes and Principles of Persecution on Account of Religion; and the Reasons why Men, of different Sects and Opinions in Religion, have always persecuted one another upon Account of this Difference. And though Christianity breathes nothing but Love, Peace, and Unity amongst those whom that most sacred Religion unites by the strongest Ties, and upon so many Accounts makes to be Brethren to one another; though nothing be so contrary to the Spirit of Christianity, as Men's Harming and Injuring one another in their Liberty, in their Property, and in their Lives, in which Wrongs and Injuries Persecution

secution consists ; yet, as Christians are no more than Men, and subject with the rest of the World to human Frailties, those Things, which have been assign'd to be the Causes and Principles of Persecution, cannot but work strongly even upon them, to make them persecute those, who differ from them in Religion : And notwithstanding that Charity be the great Command of the Gospel, yet Men are apt to think, that Truths, of so great Consequence as those which make up Christianity, must be maintained at the Expence even of Charity itself ; nay, they perhaps even go yet farther, and persecute out of Charity ; thinking that Concern they ought to have for the Souls of their Neighbours, will justify any Means they use, to bring as many as they can to the Belief of Truths they think to be necessary to Salvation ; and in Tenderness to the Generality of the People, persuade themselves, that it is even lawful to take away the Life of a Man, who asserts and spreads, what they call *damnable Heresies*.

These Reasons and Principles of acting work more or less upon Men of all Sects and Parties in Religion ; and for this Reason Persecution has been the almost constant Principle and Practice of all Sects and Parties in Religion, of whatever Kind. The Heathens have in all Ages practised it against all Innovations in Worship, and against the bringing in Religious Rites and Ceremonies, that were not establish'd by publick Authority. The Emperors themselves could not do any Thing ever so trifling of that Kind, without the Approbation of the Senate ; and, as *Eusebius* very rightly observes, they punished with Death the Authors of all such Innovations.

The furious Spirit of the *Egyptians*, against a Worship contrary to, or different from their own, is attested by almost every Author that speaks of that

that Nation; and every one knows the famous Verses of *Juvenal*, where he describes the War, that, with so much Animosity and Rancour, was carried on between the Inhabitants of *Ombros* and *Tentyra*, because the *Tentyrites* destroy'd the Crocodiles, whom the *Ombrites* worshipp'd; the Account of which *Juvenal* prefaces with those celebrated Verses that have been so frequently taken Notice on these Occasions.

————— *summus utrinque*
Inde Furor vulgo quod numina vicinorum
Odit uterque Locus, cum solos credit habendos
Esse Deos quos ipse colit.

Juv. Sat. 15. V. 35. 38. V. ibi. V. 33. 133.

The same Account we have in *Diadorus* (a) *Siculus*, of the Rage with which the *Egyptians* treated those of their Neighbours, who had a Way of Worship different from their own; and the same Author gives us an Account, that even in the Time of the two last *Ptolemys*, when the *Romans* had great Power in *Egypt*, a *Roman* could not have his Life saved, that had killed a Crocodile, even though it were only by Accident: and in regard to the Religious Reverence shewn to Animals in that Kingdom. We are told by (b) *Herodotus*, that the Killing wilfully, or even inadvertently, the Bird (c) *Ibis*, was an unpardonable Crime, and always punish'd with Death.

This persecuting Spirit was also no less prevailing amongst the *Scythians*, than amongst the

(a) Vide de *Ægyptiis* Diod. Sicul. L. 1. p. 80. Vid. etiam illud *Juvenal*.

(b) See *Diodorus Siculus* L. 1. p. 75. Edit. Rodon. See more of the persecuting Spirit of the *Egyptians*. Ibid. p. 78, 80.

(c) Ὅς δ' αὖ ἴβις ἡ ἱερὰ ἀποκτείνῃ, τὴν τε ἐκὼς, τὴν τε αἰῶνα, τιθάναι ἀνάγκη. *Herod.* l. 2. c. 65. p. 115.

People of this Nation ; and these People also shew'd, that the Doctrine of deposing and murdering heretical Princes was not wholly of popish Growth ; but that the Popes and Jesuits of the Sixteenth Century, in the Time of the *French League*, were only treading in the Steps of that equally barbarous and superstitious Nation. It was with relation to Religious Rites and Ceremonies, that *Herodotus* tells us, the (d) *Scythians* abhor'd all Foreign Customs and Laws, especially those that came from the *Greeks* ; and, for that Reason, put to Death, first *Anacharsis*, and afterwards *Scyles*. This Author, after having given a long Account of the Manner in which these Persons were destroyed, concludes that Narration, with observing how tenacious the *Scythians* were of their old Customs, and how severely they punish'd those who introduced foreign Religious Rites, as appears indeed also from the whole Narration.

The (e) *Greeks* and *Romans* also did not less, than the *Scythians* and *Egyptians*, persecute those who differ'd from them in Religion ; and *Josephus* owns, that the *Jews* did not willingly admit those who differ'd from them in Religion, and in general any Strangers, to live amongst them. With relation to Strangers, the same (f) Author shows, that the *Lacedemonians* also absolutely drove all such from amongst them ; whereas the *Jews* permitted Strangers to live amongst them, provided

(d) *Ξυμικοῖσι δὲ Ῥωμαίοισι καὶ οὗτοι ἀνῶς χρᾶσθαι φοίγουσι, μήτοι γε ὡς ἀλλήλων, Ἑλληνικοῖσι δὲ ἥκιστα, ὡς διέδεξαν Ἀνάχαρσις τε καὶ Σκύλης.* Herod. l. 4. c. 48. p. 248. Vide plur. ibid. c. 76. — 80. p. 248. — 255.

(e) See Minute Phil. Tom. i. Dial. 5. p. 273.

(f) *Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καὶ ξενολασίας ποιεῖσθαι διετέλουν, &c.* Joseph. contra App. l. 2. c. 36. p. 492. E. Havercamp.

they conform'd to their Laws. (g) He observes also, that the *Athenians* allow'd of no Sort, of Foreign Worship; and punish'd with Death those who spoke the least Word against either their Laws, or their Gods. This he proves from the known Example of (h) *Socrates*, and seems to think it was also the only Crime of *Diagoras* and *Protagoras*, whom others charge with Atheism.

(i) *Diogenes Laertius* also confirms this, and tells us, that *Socrates* was condemn'd to die, because he introduced the Worship of other Gods, or of new Gods. And the same Laws, against foreign Worship and new Gods, were also enacted by the *Romans*: It is a Law of the twelve Tables mentioned by *Cicero*.

(k) "*Separatim nemo habessit Deos: nevé novos, sed ne Advenas, nisi publicè ascitos, privatim colunt.*" None was to have his peculiar Gods, and except they were received by publick Authority, which indeed often happen'd, none was to worship, even in private, foreign Gods; Gods that came from other Countries. And the Reason *Cicero* afterwards gives for this Law, is, that if strange and foreign Gods were allow'd to be worshipped, it would introduce unknown (l) Ceremonies, and a strange Medley of Religions, or rather Religious Rites. Dr. *Davis* has some very apposite Quotations from *Livy*, upon the first of

(g) ——— ὅτι καὶ τὰς εἴματα μόνον παρὰ τὰς ἐκείνων νόμους φθιγγάζαμηνους περὶ Θεῶν ἀπαραισθήτως ἐκόλασαν. Ib. c. 37. p. 492.

(h) Id. ibid. p. 492. — 493.

(i) — ἔτετρα καὶ καινὰ Δαιμόνια ἐισαγόμενος. Laert. in Soc. p. 63. Ed. Hen. Steph. See Justin Mart. Apol. 2. p. 132. Ed. R. St.

(k) Cic. de leg. l. 2. c. 8. p. 99. Ed. Davis.

(l) Suosque Deos, aut novos, aut alienigenas coli, confusionem habet Religionum, & ignotas Ceremonias. Ibid. c. 10. p. 112, 113.

these Passages of *Cicero*, where he tells the famous Story of the *Bacchanalians* in the 39th Book.

(m) “*Quoties hoc Patrum Avorumque aetate negotium est Magistratibus datum, ut sacra externa fieri vetarent — omnem Disciplinam sacrificandi, præterquam more Romano, abolerent?*”

And the same Observation is made both of the *Athenians* and *Romans* by *Servius*, B. 8. V. 185.— 187. According to which Laws, that Author observes *Socrates* was condemn'd, and the *Chaldeans* or *Jews* were driven from *Rome*, “*Chaldæi vel Judæi sunt urbe depulsi.*” And by the Way I cannot help observing on this Passage, that one would think *Servius* had thought the *Chaldeans* and *Jews* were the same People; and I do not remember to have read, that the *Chaldeans*, except as they were *Astrologers*, were ever driven from *Rome*. In this Sense, indeed, (n) *Valerius Maximus* tells us, that the *Prætor Hispallus* order'd the *Chaldeans* to depart from *Rome* within ten Days. But be that as it will, *Tacitus* also speaks of an Edict of the (o) Senate (*Senatus-Consultum*) about banishing from *Rome* the *Egyptian* and *Jewish* Worship, by which 4000 Freemen (*Libertini Generis*) who were infected with that Super-

(m) *Livy*, l. 39. c. 16.

(n) C. Cornelius Hispallus prætor peregrinus, M. Papillio Læ-nate, Cn. Calpurnio consulibus, edicto Chaldæos intra decimum diem abire ex urbe, atque Italia jussit: levibus & ineptis ingeniis, fallaci siderum interpretatione, quæstuosam mendaciis suis caliginem injicientes. *Val. Max.* l. 1. c. 3, Ex. 2.

(o) Actum & de sacris Ægyptiis Judaicisque pellendis: Factumque Patrum Consultum, ut quatuor millia libertini generis ea superstitione infecta, quis idonea ætas, in insulam Sardiniam veherentur, coercendis illic latrociniis, & si ob gravitatem cœli interissent, vile damnum: cæteri cederent Italia, nisi certam ante diem profanos ritus exuissent. *Tac.* l. 2. c. 85. p. 77. Ed. Ryck.

stitution, were order'd to be banish'd to the Island of *Sardinia*. And the same (p) *Tacitus* approves of *Antiochus Epiphanes's* Persecution of the *Jews*; and commends that Prince for endeavouring to bring them back from their Superstition, and obliging them to follow the Customs, that is, the Religious Customs of his other Subjects; which Design, he observes, he was hinder'd from prosecuting, by the Rebellion of the *Parthians*, and the Defection of *Arfaces*, which happen'd about that Time.

(q) *Suetonius* reckons the Persecution of Christians by *Nero*, amongst the best Things that Emperor did in the first and brighter Part of his Reign. But *Tacitus* places it in the latter Part of that Reign, about the Time when *Rome* was burnt by *Nero*. *Tacitus*, indeed, fairly acquits the (r) Christians of that Crime; but, at the same Time says, the Christians, though they were not guilty of that Burning, were convicted of being odious to all Mankind, or otherwise of hating all Mankind; for the Words of the Original can bear both Senses, and describes them as the worst of Men, who deserved the most exemplary Punishment; yet cannot but observe, that they were pitied by many, because they suffer'd those terrible Deaths which he (s) describes; only to sa-

(p) ——— rex Antiochus demere superstitionem, & mores Græcorum dare adnixus, quo minus teterrimam gentem in melius mutaret, Parthorum bello prohibitus est. Tac. Hist. l. 5. c. 8. p. 530.

(q) Afflicti suppliciis Christiani, genus hominum superstitionis novæ ac maliciæ. Suet. in Ner. c. 16.

(r) ——— correpti qui fatebantur, deinde indicio eorum multitudo ingens, haud perinde in crimine incendii, quam odio humani generis convicti sunt. Tac. An. l. 15. c. 44. p. 308.

(s) Pereuntibus addita ludibria, ut Perarum tergis contesti, laniata canum interirent, aut crucibus affixi, aut flammam (al. flammati). Id. ibid.

tisfy one Man's Cruelty, under Pretence of its being for the publick Good: — (t) "*Quaquam adversus fontes & novissima Exempla meritos. Miratio oriebatur, tanquam non utilitate publica, sed in sevitiam unius absumerentur.*"

The Advice, given to *Augustus* by *Mæcenas* in *Dio* (u) *Cassius*, is also an Apology for Persecution, grounded upon that frivolous and wretched common Place, that he, who doth not honour the Gods, that is, the Gods that are worshipped in his own Country, or that doth not worship the Deity agreeably to the Manner which the Laws of his Country enjoyn, cannot honour his Prince: Which poor Argument *Mæcenas* backs with that other, that is confuted by Experience, where-ever Toleration prevails, that different Opinions in Religion endanger the Peace of the State, and weaken the Authority of Government, and that Sedition and Rebellion are the necessary Consequences of that Difference: But if we come to examine into the Truth of this more strictly, we shall find, that this is true only where the Spirit of Persecution prevails, and where Men are put out of the Protection of the Laws, only for dissenting from merely speculative Opinions, and are not suffer'd to enjoy quietly their Liberties or Properties, or even their Lives. *Mæcenas* in *Dio Cassius* further advises *Augustus*, always to honour and worship the Deity according to the Laws of his Country, and the Practice of his Ancestors, and would have him hate and punish all those who go about to introduce Innovations in Religion, and to compel them to worship in the old Way, that is in the Way that is prescribed by Law: And all this

(t) Id. *ibid.*

(u) Vide *Dion. Cass.* l. 52. p. 561, 562. *ibid.*

Mæcenas enforces upon the Emperor by this wretched and false Conclusion, that he that doth not honour the Gods, will never honour what he should honour; and that those, who would bring in new Gods, only design to alter the Laws of the Nation they are introducing them among; and from these Innovations, he would have it believed, arise Conspiracies, illegal Assemblies, and unauthorized Corporations, such as the *Hetæriæ* so much mentioned in *Pliny's* Epistles. These, indeed, were contrary to Law; and among the Number of these, the Christian Assemblies were unjustly comprehended; and consequently they were obnoxious to the Laws that were then in Force against all such unauthorized Assemblies, that is, against Men's forming themselves into Bodies or Corporations, without Leave of the State.

Dio Cassius was himself a bigotted Pagan, and, as such, an Enemy to Christians. He was, indeed, if I may so speak, a Legendary of Paganism, and most religiously believed all the Prodigies and Miracles that Pagan Enthusiasts, who were very rife in his Time, thought proper to forge and relate; and as *Alexander Severus*, under whom he wrote, and who had made him Consul, was very favourable to Christians and Christianity, and was, indeed, an Adorer of Christ, whom he jointly worshipped with (*) *Orpheus* and *Apollonius*; *Dio Cassius* was afraid he would abolish Paganism, and introduce Christianity in its Room. And to prevent this, it is probable he made this Speech for *Mæcenas*, suited to the Circumstances of his own Time, and not to those of *Mæcenas* and *Augustus*;

(*) ——— Christum, Abraham, & Orpheum, & hujuscemodi Deos habebat. Lamprid. in Alex. Sev. c. 29. p. 540. Ed. Var. 1661.

for at that Time there was no Sort of Reason to apprehend any Innovations in Matters of Religion.

In regard to *Pliny*, we may observe, that he was one of the most humane Men in the World, and was far from that ill-natur'd Bigottry, that persecuting Zeal, that Hatred of those who differ'd from the National Worship, which we may observe in this Passage of *Dio*. All that *Pliny* did against Christians, was merely in Compliance with the Laws then in Being, as again enforced by *Trajan*, against the *Heteriæ*, those unwarranted Corporations, into which some Men enter'd themselves without, or indeed, more properly speaking, against Law. These Sorts of illegal Societies gave Rise to Tumults and Factions, which made the Persons engaged in them very justly abhor'd by all Emperors, as it is evident they were even by *Trajan*, the best perhaps of all the *Roman* Emperors. And it was for this Reason, that *Trajan* was so much averse to that Body or Association of Smiths (*collegium Fabrorum*) which *Pliny* had desired him to establish at *Nicomedia*, which was the chief Town of *Bythinia*, of which Province *Pliny* was Governor, and which had been burnt down, that Emperor very rationally objected against this Petition of *Pliny's*; that both that Province and City had often been torn by Factions that were owing to those associated Bodies of Men, and adds, that whatever Name should be given to them, (y) they would soon become *Heteriæ*, and exactly such Societies as were

(y) — Meminerimus, provinciam istam, & præcipue eas civitates, ab ejusmodi factionibus esse vexatas. Quodcunque nomen ex quacunque causa dederimus iis, qui in idem contracti fuerint, Heteriæ, quamvis breves, fient. *Trajan. apud Plin. l. 10. ep. 43. p. 586.*

discountenanced by the Laws. Whether Corporate Bodies nearer Home justify this Charge of *Trajan's* or not, I shall not pretend to determine; what relates more immediately to my Subject is, the Observation that it was upon the Laws against these *Heteriæ*, that *Pliny's* Persecution of Christians in his District was grounded. For from the Testimonies of apostate Christians themselves, he clears the Religion in general from those Calumnies with which Christianity and its Professors were, at that Time, loaded; to which the Testimonies of *Tacitus* and *Suetonius* seem to give some Colour, and which accordingly some of our modern Infidels, who would leave nothing unfought, that could any Way glance an *Odium* on our sacred Religion, have not forgot to quote against Christianity and the primitive Christians. These Apostates, in general, in their Depositions, told *Pliny*, that (z) they sung Hymns to Christ as a God, but that they were far from binding or obliging themselves to the Commission of any Crime by Sacrament, or any solemn Oath: On the contrary, that they obliged themselves never to steal, never to rob, never to commit Adultery, never to break their Word, and never to be false to a Trust; that they met together to learn, that is, to hear their Teachers explain

(z) *Carmen Christo, quasi Deo, dicere secum invicem: seq. sacramento non in scelus aliquod obstringere, sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent: — quibus peractis morem sibi discendi fuisse, rursusque coeundi ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum tamen & innoxium: quod ipsum facere desisse post edictum meum, quo secundum mandata tua, Heterias esse vetueram. Plin. ibid. ep. 27. p. 630. Upon these Laws against the Heteriæ, most of the following Persecutions of Christians were grounded. See Tertul. Apol. c. 39. p. 36. Ed. Rig. 1640.*

the sacred Tenets of their Religion; and to take promiscuously an innocent Meal; by which, I suppose, is either meant the Lord's Supper, or the Feast of Charity, the *Agapæ* that follow'd it; and, it is evident, that even this they left off doing after the Edict against the *Hetariæ* or unlawful Societies, which, according to the Command of *Trajan*, *Pliny* had put out. Let it not be supposed, that I am endeavouring to give this Observation about the *Hetariæ's* being the Cause of *Trajan's* persecuting the Christians, as a new Discovery; far be it from me to claim Reputation from the Merit of others, I am very sensible that it was observed long ago by these two great Masters of Ecclesiastical History, Dr. *Cave* and *Tillemont* (z).

I do not find, that, in this Epistle, *Pliny* reflects upon Christians for any Thing else, but what he calls, (a) their Obstinacy, that is, what we Christians justly call, a laudable Perseverance in their holy Religion; and therefore Mr. (b) *Warburton* ought not to have brought in *Pliny* and *Tacitus* together, as if they reflected alike upon Christianity and Christians. *Pliny* indeed observes, that the Punishment of a few Christians had that Effect, (c) that the Temples, that were before almost left desolate, were now frequented; the Religious

(z) Vid. Cav. Hist. Lit. in Conspectu Sæc. sec. p. 26. Tillemont Memoires Ecclesiastiques in Persec. Trajani, Art. 2. T. 2. Part 2. Page 6.

(a) Perseverantes duci jussi. Neque enim dubitabam, qualemcunque esset, quod faterentur, pervicaciam certe, & inflexibilem obstinationem debere punire. Ibid. p. 628.

(b) Warburton Div. Leg. vol. 1. b. 2. chap. 6. p. 292, 294.

(c) Certe satis constat, prope jam desolata templa capisse celebrari, & sacra solennia diu intermissa repeti: passimque venire victimas, quarum adhuc rarissimus emptor inveniebatur. Plin. ib. p. 631.

Rites were again celebrated after a long Interruption, and Victims for Sacrifices were sold everywhere, which before found but few Buyers. But I cannot help doing my righteous Cause the Justice of observing, that *Pliny* says nothing of that Unsociableness of Christianity, a Notion Mr. *Warburton* seems so very fond of; a Notion with a hard and odious Name, and which is not new, though dress'd in new Terms of Art. *Pliny* intimates, indeed, that Christians did not join in the publick Worship of their Time; but he expresses against them no Hatred, no Resentment upon that Account, nor doth he make it the Ground of his Prosecution. What may be farther and to more Purpose, gather'd from this Piece of *Pliny's*, is the great and quick Progress Christianity made, even in the Beginning of the second Century, even in the Year 107, to which learned Men assign the Persecution of *Trajan*. This Progress, and quick Propagation of Christianity, *Pliny* expresses in very strong Terms, when he tells *Trajan*, how not only the (d) Cities but even the Villages and smaller Country Places in his Province, were infected with what he calls, the Contagion of that Superstition.

But to mention once more what Mr. *Warburton* calls, the Unsociableness of Christianity; I cannot but acknowledge, that it is certain, that, in all Ages, and in all Nations, nothing has more obstructed the Progress of Christianity, than the Persuasion of its Professors, that all other Religions but their own were to be rejected, and no other God but their's was to be worshipped. But suffer me also to observe, that this Opinion is certainly

(d) Neque enim civitates tantum, sed vicos etiam atque agros superstitionis istius contagio pervagata est. Id. ib.

most true, even in Philosophy as well as in Religion. And nothing can be more evident to an unbiaſſed Reason, than that if there be a God at all, there can be but one ; and that he alone is to be worſhipped, becauſe he alone has and can have thoſe Perfections, upon which Divine Worſhip is grounded ; nor can that Worſhip ever rationally be given to Creatures, who, as they are Creatures, muſt of Courſe be imperfect, and, therefore, cannot be the proper Objects of Divine Worſhip. This Opinion, however philoſophical as it is, was unhappily too much ſo for the Heathen Philoſophers of thoſe Times, and is ſo ſtill in regard to the Philoſophers of the Eaſt. That Chriſtianity was the only true Religion ; and that the God of Chriſtians alone was to be worſhipped, we find was the great Objection that was made in *Japan* to the Miſſionaries, by whom the Goſpel was preach'd in that Country : (e) Though the *Japanese* might poſſibly ſoon have found, that their Idolatry might eaſily have been reconciled, to the Practice and Doctrine of their new Evangeliſts. The *Romans* however, had they deſired it, could not ſo eaſily have reconciled the Worſhip and Doctrine of thoſe, by whom the Goſpel was preach'd, with their Worſhip, and Opinions in Religion. That there was but one God, and that one God alone was to be worſhipped, was the conſtant Doctrine of thoſe truly Evangelical Preachers ; and their conſtant Worſhip and Practice was perfectly agreeable to their Doctrine. They confuted the falſe Notions the *Romans* had of their Gods, and ridiculed their equally abſurd and impious Worſhip. They entirely ran

(e) See Kemper's Hiſt. Jap. T. 1. B. 4. Chap. 6. p. 315, 316.

(f) counter to the Practice of the *Romans*, who allow'd of all Religious Ceremonies, of the Worship of all Sorts of Deities, provided they had the Sanction of publick Authority; and this *Rigaltius* justly assigns to be the Cause, why the *Romans* were ever such Enemies to the *Jews* and *Christians*, and did all they could to obstruct and hinder the Progress of both those Religions. Their great Provocation for doing this was, because the God of the *Jews*, and afterwards of the *Christians*, would be worshipped alone, and both *Jews* and *Christians* asserted, and inveigh'd against the Worship of any other Gods, or indeed of the true God, in any other Way than that which was prescribed by their Religions.

The Laws in Being in that Nation, against Meetings, Assemblies, and Associations that were not authorized by publick Authority, unhappily obliged Christians to hold their Assemblies by Night; and this Conduct, which Necessity enforced upon them, was made a new Crime, a new Offence against the Law, and was ever one of the Things most violently objected against the Christians: And though this was a Crime, if it were to be so called, which the Christians were even forced to commit, by the Laws in Being, or rather, by the malicious Cunning of their Enemies, who turn'd against them Laws, that were not intended against them, and on any Occasion seldom put in Execution; yet this was a great Pretence made Use of to justify their Persecution. This has been most clearly made out, by the late learn-

(f) Cur ergo tam crudeliter obstitere Christianis? Sunt qui factum id fuisse dicant, eo quod Judæorum ac deinceps Christianorum Deus, solus coli voluerit. Rigalt, in illud min. Fel. universa Romanos, p. 49.

ed and most ingenious Mr. Moyle, with whose Friendship I was honour'd, and to the Day of whose Death, I may very justly apply these Verses of *Virgil*.

*quem semper acerbum,
Semper honoratum, sic dii voluistis, habebo.*

In a MSS. Dissertation, which was to have follow'd that upon the Thundering Legion, this learned Gentleman, has evidently proved (g) from *Dionys. Halic.* that nocturnal Meetings, in order to perform any Act of Religion, were prohibited by the *Roman Laws*: And that nocturnal Assemblies, upon Account of Religion, were against Law, appears also from the famous Story of the (h) *Bacchanals* in the 39th Book of *Livy*; and upon this very Account it was, that these Assemblies were dropt, and the Societies that thus met together upon that Account, were dissolved.

Porcius Latro, in his Declaration against *Cataline* (i), affirms, that no nocturnal Assembly was allow'd by Law: That all such were forbid by the twelve Tables, and punished with Death by the Laws of *Gabinus*: And for this Reason (k) *Tertullian* owns, that the Assemblies of Christians were contrary to Law: And Archbishop (l) *Wake* seems to confess, that these Laws were just, and that such Laws were even necessary from the very Nature of Government, and the End of its Institution.

(g) See Moyle MSS. Differt. ex Dion. Halic. l. 2. p. 68. Ed. Oxon.

(h) Vide Liv. l. 39. c. 14, 15.

(i) Parc. Latro Declam. in Catil. p. 223.

(k) — nisi forte in senatus consulta, & in principum mandata coitionibus opposita delinquimus. Tertul. de Jejuniis, c. 13. p. 711.

(l) See Wake's Authority of Christian Princes, p. 42.

There are also, beside these, many other Reasons for which it was a great Misfortune that Christians were forced to hold their Assemblies by Night: *Tertullian* says, that a Heathen Husband would hardly suffer his Wife to rise by Night to go to the (m) nocturnal Meetings of the Christians: And *Vicecomes*, as he is quoted by *Dupin*, will have it, that the *Disciplina Arcani*, the Care that the Christians took to hide, from the publick View, their Religious Ceremonies, give Rise to those groundless Accusations against them, of Incest and Murder of Children.

The (n) *Osculum Pacis*, the Kiss of Peace, was also another Practice that gave Rise to a Number of Calumnies: Though this Kiss of Peace was ever only between Persons of the same Sex. In short, Persecution never wants Pretences; and the most innocent Practices will have an ill-natur'd Turn given them, to justify the Rage of a persecuting Religious Zeal: And where the Laws of any Country are deficient against Dissenters in Religion, this Want is supplied by Mobs and Riots: And the Vulgar are stir'd up and incensed to insult, rob, and even murder those whom zealous Incendiaries shall think fit to call the Enemies of Religion. This Sort of Persecution, I must observe, has not been peculiar to the later Ages, it was also suffer'd by the primitive Christians: there are numerous Instances of this; and even *Eusebius* tells us, that the Persecution of *Trajan* was raised by an (o) Insurrection of the People. The

(m) *Quis nocturnis convocationibus, si ita oportuerit, a latere suo adimi libenter feret.* Tertul. ad Ux. l. 2. c. 14. p. 189.

(n) Vide Tertul. ad Uxorem, c. 4. p. 189. De Oratione, c. 14. p. 184.

(o) ἡ ἐκ παρασάσεως ἰσχυρὰ. Euseb. Hist. Ecc. l. 3. c. 32. p. 103.

same also he observes of the Persecution under *M. Aur. Antoninus*. And the Church of *Lyons*, in the famous Epistle which we have in *Eusebius* tells us, how the (p) Mob clamour'd and rose upon them, how they were drag'd out into the Streets, how they were ston'd, and how their Goods were plunder'd by the Mob. As to that Persecution under the Emperor *Philip*, who, by *Eusebius* and others, is said to have favour'd Christianity, and indeed to have been himself a (q) Christian. It is not easy to say any Thing of Certainty about it; but be that as it will, all the Christian Authors of those Times tell us, that Persecutions against Christians were chiefly raised by the Instigation of the Mob; *nec alii magis depostulatores Christianorum, quam Vulgus*, says (r) *Tertullian* in his Apology: To which I might add, the Testimonies of *Justin Martyr*, of *Origen* against *Celsus*, and even after Christianity had the Laws on its Side, of *Gregory (f) Nazianzen*, who complains of the many Seditions that were raised by the Heathens against Christians, in the Time of *Julian*.

All the Historians of those Times tell us, that (t) *George the Arian Bishop of Alexandria*,

(p) — τα ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου — ἐπιβροῦντες καὶ πλῆγας καὶ συρμούς, καὶ διαρπαγὰς, καὶ λήθων βολὰς. Ep. Ec. Lug. apud Euf. l. 5. c. 1. p. 155.

(q) This is denied by Dr. Cave in his English Life of *Origen*, p. 230. Blondel. Primante, p. 1120. Vide Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 6. c. 34. See Bingham's Antiq. vol. 7. b. 16. c. 3. p. 156, 157.

(r) Vid. Tertul. Apol. c. 37, 40. Vid. Jus. Mart. Apol. 1. c. 8, 9. Ed. Grab. Origen contra Celsum, l. 4. p. 183.

(f) Vide illud Greg. Naz. δῆμος ἰφῆκε καὶ πῶλεον. Invest. 1. in Julian. p. 3. Ed. Mont.

(t) Vide de cæde Georgii Alex. Ammian. Marcell. l. 22. p. 223. Ed. Vales. 1636. Socrates Hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 3. — Sozom. l. 5. c. 8. Julian Ep. 10. p. 123, — 127. Ed. Pet.

who

who had been a great Persecutor of Heathenism, was massacred in a Riot by the Mob of that City. This Murther is, however, no farther to be laid to the Account of *Julian*, than that he did not punish the Ringleaders of the Riot that occasioned it, though he pretended very much to condemn both the Insurrection and Murder, in a Letter to the People of *Alexandria*. The Truth indeed is, that *Julian* really encouraged these popular Insurrections against Christians; and he even was like to have (u) put to Death the Governor of *Gaza*, because he imprisoned some of the Inhabitants of that City, that had been concerned in Riots of that Sort, in which several Christians had been murdered. And what may give no small Strength to their Suspicion is, that almost all the Persecutions the Christians suffer'd under *Julian*, were owing to the Insurrections of the People of several Cities against them; though at the same Time it must also be acknowledged, that some of these Persecutions were owing to the indiscreet Zeal of some of the Christians themselves, who (x) abused that Emperor in Satyrs and Lampoons, and even were so imprudent as to pray publicly for his Death, and in general were but too often guilty of an indiscreet seditious Behaviour. In reflecting on these Circumstances, I cannot but observe, that one must be grieved to see an Ecclesiastical Historian of (y) *Theodore's* Character, commending the Monk *Julian* for praying earnestly for the

(u) Vide Sozom. l. 5. c. 9.

(x) Vide quæ Maris in Julianum Scommata effudit apud Socrat. l. 3. c. 12. Vide de Antiochenis & Juliani Misopogone Soc. ib. c. 7. Vide Amm. l. 23. p. 226, 227. Vide illud Juliani διὰ τῶν ἀναταξίων ἡμῶς ὑμῖν ἐν ταῖς ἀγοαῖς ἐντεταλντα δοῦν δεσποῦντες. In Misop. p. 104. part. 2.

(y) Vide Theodoret Hist. Ecc. l. 3. c. 42.

Death of the Emperor of that Name; and one cannot but wish, that the same Historian had not commended *Publia* a Christian Matron, who, in the Presence of that Emperor, could not refrain from singing that Verse of the *Psalmist* (z) *Confounded be all they that worship carved Images.*

But besides superstitious Tyrants, and a bigotted and ignorant Mob, the Philosophers of those Times were most implacable and bitter Enemies to Christianity. They, indeed, could not be supposed to be otherwise, when our great Apostle had declared, the (a) *Wisdom of this World to be Foolishness with God.* And, indeed, that it was truly no better than mere Folly, appear'd from their Dissent from one another, in the most material Points of Morality and Religion; some believing no God at all; some believing no Providence; some believing the World to be God, and the several Parts of the World to be Parts of God; some believing no Difference between Virtue and Vice, allowing a (b) Community of Wives; and others expressing themselves about the (c) Love of Boys, about the (d) Kisses of Boys, about their beloved *Pæderastia*, with such a Warmth, that must puzzle very much their Apologists to defend them, and at least must be allow'd to have given a very just Handle to Men of a very different Way of thinking, to (e) *Lucian* and the first Apologists of

(z) Id. ib. c. 19.

(a) 1 Cor. iii. 19.

(b) De communitate uxorum vide Platon. de Rep. l. 5. p. 358. Ed. Cantab. T. 9.

(c) Vide de Pæderastia Platon. de Rep. l. 3. p. 204.—206.

(d) Vide illud Platonis Τὸ φιλεῖσθαι τε καὶ φιληθῆναι ὑπὸ ἑκάστου. Ib. l. 5. p. 372.

(e) Vide *Lucian* in vera Historia, l. 1. p. 76.—78. T. 1. Ed. Bened. Vide *Tertullianum* de Anima, c. 55. *Theodoret* περὶ παθημάτων, Serm. 9. p. 617. T. 4. Ed. Serm.

Christianity to expose them. These strange Opinions of the Philosophers, and their Disagreements in Matters of the (f) highest Consequence, were exposed as they deserved, by these Apologists; and this could not but make them Enemies to these Persons and to Christianity itself. And to this we may add, an unaccountable Bigottry, in almost all the Philosophers that have appear'd in the World since the first Preaching of the Gospel; of whom those, who before that Time had themselves exposed the strange Stories that were told of the Heathen Gods, after this endeavour'd, by turning these Stories into Allegory, to palliate the Absurdities of the established Worship that was grounded upon them. Thus that best of Emperors, that great Moralist, and, in that Respect, that great Philosopher *M. Aur. Anton.* as *Mr. Moyle*, and before him *Tillemont*, have observed, was a most superstitious bigotted Heathen, and, upon that Account, a great Enemy to Christians and Christianity. He tells us, that he had learn'd of his Father *Antoninus Pius* not to be an (g) Innovator; and though he does not, on this Occasion, mention Religion in particular; yet a Man, that declares himself to be an Enemy to all Innovations in general, must, if he doth not except those in that particular Case, be understood to be an Enemy to Innovations in Matters of Religion, as well as those of another Kind; he was zealous for the most superstitious Rites of Paganism, as appears by his going to *Athens* to be initiated into the (b) *Eleanthinian* Mysteries; and nothing, but that unphilosophical Turn, those inveterate Prejudices they en-

(f) Vide Lucianum in Hermotimo, vol. 1. p. 554.—559.

(g) ἡρώτα μὴτε καινότημον, Anton. de Seipso, l. 1.

(b) Vide Dion. apud Xiphil. in M. Ant. Phil. p. 280.

tertained in Favour of all Antiquity, but especially of the *Greek* Philosophers; nothing else, I say, could have made *Dacier* and his Wife, in their Life of *Antoninus*, commend that Initiation as an Instance of his Piety. Every one knows that humorous Address of the Oxen and other Beasts, that used to be sacrificed by *Antoninus*, where they are made to say, that they were undone, if he return'd safe from his *Germanick* Expedition. He exhorts himself to reverence the Gods, as a true Disciple of his Father *Antoninus Pius*, whom, as Mr. *Moyle* has observed, (i) *Suidas* and *Capitolinus* compare to *Numa* the Founder of *Roman* Paganism. To this we may add, that *Antoninus* was highly credulous, he consulted the *Chaldeans* and *Astrologers*, and was absolutely seduced by that false Prophet *Alexander*; from which Instances *Gataker*, and after him Mr. *Moyle*, have proved the great Bigottry and Superstition of that Prince. This Emperor was, indeed, a most remarkable Enthusiast, and thought he had a Sort of Divine Inspiration, an (k) *Ἐπιπνοια*, with which he always comply'd. He had a great Contempt for Christians, as appears from that famous Passage, where he taxes the Christians with (l) Obstinacy, and finds Fault with their Desire of Martyrdom, and running themselves voluntarily into Death for the Sake of their Religion: And Mr. *Moyle* will have it, that it is his Persecuting of Christians, that worshipped but one God, that *Capitolinus* has

(i) ——— & qui merito Numæ Pompilio ex bonorum sententia comparatur, c. 2. p. 126, 127.

(k) Anton. l. 1. c. 17. p. 7. Ed. Gatak. Stanhope.

(l) Οἷα εἶναι ἡ ψυχὴ ἡ ἑτοιμος, ἵαν ἡδὴ ἀπολυθῆναι διὰ τῶ σῶμα-
τος, ——— μὴ κατὰ φιλήν παραταξιν, ὡς οἱ Χριστιανοί, ———
Anton. l. 11. c. 3. p. 106.

in his Eye, when he says, that he most (*m*) diligently restored the Worship of the Gods. For Mr. Moyle is of Opinion, that in the Time *Capitolinus* writ, that is, in the Time of *Dioclesian*, the Words, *Cultus Numinum*, or *Cultus Deorum*, took in particularly the whole System of Paganism, in Opposition to the Christians, by whom one God only was worshipped.

(*n*) *Julian*, it is very evident, proposed to himself *Antoninus* as a Model; and both these philosophical Emperors were equally superstitious, and their (*o*) Superstition has been equally ridiculed; and that *Julian*, out of Zeal for the Riviving of Paganism, was a great Enemy to Christianity and Christians, needs no Proof. He was always surrounded with the Philosophers, who persuaded him to undertake that fatal Expedition into *Persia*, from which his (*p*) Diviners and Soothsayers in vain endeavour'd to dissuade him; nay, this he did even against the Persuasion of *Sallust*, one of the wisest Men of his Time, and upon whom himself has bestow'd the highest Commendations. This Emperor turn'd also into Allegory most of the Heathen Fables: In that Manner he explains the Story of (*q*) *Venus* from the *Pænician* Theology, as he calls it. And surely, nothing can be more chymical, or indeed more childish, than his allegorical Exposition of the Fable of *Cybele*

(*m*) — *Deorum cultum diligentissime restituit.* — *Capitol.* in *Anton. Phil.* c. 21. p. 199.

(*n*) Vide *Amm.* l. 16. p. 58. Et ex *Libanio Vales.* in locum.

(*o*) Superstitiosus magis quam sacrorum legitimus observator. *Amm.* l. 25. p. 294. de *Juliano*.

(*p*) Vide *Amm.* l. 23. p. 244.

(*q*) Vide *Julian orat.* 4. p. 282. — Vide *Chrysoft.* T. 5. Hom. 64. Sen. 2. in *Bab.* p. 467. Ed. *Savil.* — V. *Sal. de mundo*, c. 4.

and *Atys*, and especially of the Castration of the latter. This Emperor was follow'd likewise, in these Things, by *Sallust* the Philosopher, his Contemporary, a different Person from the other *Sallust* now mentioned : And, indeed, these were the Opinions of all the Philosophers of those Times. It is plain by their Lives in *Eunapius*, that they were all mere Enthusiasts, and all inveterate Enemies to Christianity. I must refer the learned Reader to what that great Man *Spanheim* says of the (r) *Θεωρυία* or *Θειασμός*, so much spoken of by *Julian* and the other Philosophers of his Time, which *Spanheim*, without explaining farther, understands of a most sublime Philosophy, which chiefly related to *Dæmons*, and by which *Julian* thought he might be the better able to answer Christians, when they attack'd Pagan Mysteries. I must confess I think, upon the Whole, that we are pretty much in the Dark about this (s) *Θεωρυία*, which, I am apt to believe, relates to those *Elenfinian* Mysteries, into which *Julian* was initiated. Whatever it was however, I believe we have enough of it, to know that *Julian* was a downright Fanatick, and that his Philosophy, instead of curing it, heighten'd his Enthusiasm, and, consequently, still made him the more violent Enemy to Christianity, a Religion that is the very Reverse of Fanaticism. Mr. *Moyle* has shewn, in his printed Works, that *Antoninus* was also very much addicted to this *Θεωρυία*, which made *Julian* still more the Imitator and Follower of that Emperor.

As we have more Writings of these two Em-

(r) Vide *Spanheim* præfat. in *Julian*.

(s) Vide de *Θεωρυία* *Julian*. Orat. 5. p. 330.—337. —Vide de *Juliano* mysteriis initiato *Eunap.* in *Maximo*. p. 86, 90, 94.

perors, than of most Philosophers that lived after the Gospel was preached ; it is for that Reason that I have chiefly insisted upon them to show, what Enemies the Philosophers of those Times were to Christianity and Christians ; as, indeed, it was because they were Philosophers that both of them persecuted the Christians.

There is a Kind of accidental Mention of the *Galileans* in (t) *Arrian* upon *Epictetus*, where that Philosopher wonders at the Pusillanimity of those who were afraid of Banishment and Death ; when Error or Custom made the *Galileans* voluntarily to rush upon Destruction. This Passage is by some understood of Christians ; but, as (u) *Daille* observes, it is uncertain whether the Name of *Galileans* was given to Christians so early as the Time of *Epictetus*, or indeed before the Time of (x) *Julian*. We may observe indeed, that they are called so in (y) *Tiberianus's* Epistle to *Trajan* ; which likewise speaks of the Rashness of the Christians in courting, as it were, Death and Torments for the Sake of their Religion. But we are not to build too much upon this Epistle, seeing the most learned Criticks, *Tillemont*, *Dodwell*, and others, look upon it to be spurious. And (z) *Le Clerc*

(t) — ἵτα ὑπὸ μανίας μὴ δύναται τις εἶναι δια τεθῆναι πρὸς ταῦτα, καὶ ὑπὸ ἔθους ὁ Γαλιλαῖος. *Epict.* apud *Arrian.* l. 4. c. 7. p. 400. Ed. Cantab.

(u) Vide *Daill.* de *Pseudepigraphis Apostolicis*, part 3. c. 24: p. 714.

(x) *Julian* often calls the Christians *Galileans*. Vide illud ὁ δυσσεβὴς Γαλιλαῖος. *Jul. Fragm.* p. 557. Vide *Ep.* 49. part 2. p. 204.

(y) Vide de *Tiberiani Ep.* ad *Traj.* quæ apud *Malalam*, *Tilm.* in *Perf. Traj. Mem.* T. 2. part. 2. art. 12. p. 433, 434. Vide *Dodwell* *Dis. Cyp.* 11. p. 244.

(z) Vide ex sua *Hist. Eccl.* *Le Clerc* *Bibliothèque ancienne & moderne.* T. 6. p. 338, 339.

thinks the Passage from *Epictetus* may be understood of the Disciples of *Judas the Gaulonite*, who suffer'd the most cruel Torments, rather than give the Title of Master to any Man upon Earth. For which Opinion also there is this great Shew of Probability, that the Christians, in the Time of *Epictetus*, were hardly known; whereas the Mischiefs done, at the Siege of *Jerusalem* by the Zealots, who were the Disciples of this *Judas*, were fresh in every Body's Memory at the Time when that Author lived.

But whatever becomes of *Epictetus's* Galileans, it is certain, the *Epicureans* and *Platonicians* were all great Enemies to Christians and their Religion. *Origen* tells us, that (a) *Celsus*, whose Book against Christians he answers, was an *Epicurean*. This appears also by *Lucian's* Address to him; for this is certainly that *Celsus*, to whom *Lucian* inscribes his Book against the false Prophet *Alexander*; and to those Books against Christians *Lucian* seems to allude, when he (b) commends *Celsus* for having, in his Works, detected the Arts of Soreery and Magick, for to such Arts and Practices *Celsus*, in *Origen*, ascribes the Miracles of Christ; for the Truth of the Facts he doth not deny. It is, indeed, worthy Observation, that this arch Infidel never came up to that Height of Assurance with the (c) Answerer to the Tryal of the Witnesses, who makes very short Work with all Things of this Kind, by asserting, that Miracles are impossible. *Origen* has very fairly and ingenuously given us *Celsus's* Objections in his own Words; and

(a) *Επισκοπεύς* ὢν. Orig. contra Celf. l. 4. p. 132.

(b) Vide *Lucian* in *Pseudomanti*. Vol. 1. Ed. Ben. Oct. 876. & confer. Orig. contra Celf. l. 1. p. 53.

(c) See Answer to the Tryal, &c. p. 73, 83.

this *Celfus* is the great Magazine, from whom our modern Infidels have taken their Artillery with which they have been so long endeavouring to batter the Gospel; and particularly 'tis from *Celfus* they have had, what they think, a most (d) formidable Objection to the Truth of the Gospel Accounts, that Christ, after his Resurrection, did not appear publickly to the *Jews*. To which Objection I cannot say, that *Origen* has return'd quite a satisfactory Answer.

Lucian, who also was an *Epicurean*, was likewise a great Enemy to Christianity. This most evidently appears from his *Pseudomantis* and his *Peregrinus*; but especially his (e) *Philopseudes* seems to be a continual Satyr upon the Miracles of our Saviour.

The *Platonists* and *Pythagoreans* were also in the same Manner, Enemies to the Gospel; and every one has heard of the Books *Porphry* writ against Christianity, which are now, indeed, lost, except one Fragment, which we have inserted in *Eusebius* and *St. Austin*.

Bishop (f) *Loyd of Worcester*, in his Letter to *Dr. Bentley*, which is fixed to his Chronological Account of *Pythagoras*, thinks, that the Miracles ascribed by *Porphry* and *Jamblicus* to *Pythagoras*, were unquestionably set up in Opposition to the Miracles of our Saviour: And all the World has been of the same Opinion, in regard to the Miracles ascribed by *Philostratus* to *Apollonius*, whose Life was undoubtedly writ in Opposition to what

(d) Vide *Celf.* apud *Orig.* l. 2. p. 99. Vide & *Orig.* ib. p. 99, 100.

(e) See what he says of a sick Man that carried his Bed. Καὶ τοῦ οὐ Μίδας αὐτὸς ἀράμηνος τοῦ οὐκ ἐκινῆσθαι, ἐφ' οὗ ἐκινῆσθαι ἐφ' ὧν αὐτὸς ἐκινῆσθαι.

(f) See *Le Clerc Bibliothéque choisie*, T. 10. p. 94, 95.

the Gospel tells us of Jesus Christ. And B—p Loyd thinks likewise, that the old Doctrine of Metempsychosis or Transmigration of Souls, was renewed at that Time by those Disciples of *Pythagoras*, only to overthrow what the Gospel teaches of a future State, and of the Resurrection of the Body.

Thus I have, I promise myself, sufficiently shewn, that Persecution is not a Weed of Christian Growth, as the Malice and Wickedness of too many would fain have it believed to be; on the contrary, it is evident, from what I have observed, that it was practised even long before Christianity was heard of in the World.

I come now, therefore, according to the intended Course of this Work, to give Examples of the Truth of what I advanced in regard to those who suffer Persecution, namely, that all persecuted Sects do, whilst they are under the Lash of it, disclaim all Sort of Persecution: In these Circumstances they ever preach up Liberty of Conscience, and take great Pains to show, that Religion is not a Thing to which Men can be compel'd; that our Opinions are not in our Power; that the Belief of any Religion cannot be forced upon us, though the Profession of it may; that the Choice of our Religion is the most fundamental, the most inviolable, and the most sacred Right of Mankind; that whatever Religion we profess, is not cognizable by the Magistrate; and that, where-ever the Civil Power breaks in upon that Right, it is the highest Invasion of our Liberties, and a Medling with what the Prince has not, and cannot have, any Thing to do with, since the Magistrate's Power extends no farther than the Concerns of this Life. And that these are most firm,
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most certain, and unanswerable Truths in all Cases, except Religion is turn'd into Faction, except it is made a Tool of Sedition, an Engine of Rebellion, and under the Pretence of promoting a true Religion, or opposing a false one, Men disturb the publick Peace and Order of the World. In that Case, and in that Case only, it comes within the Province of the Magistrate, which is confined to the Concerns of this World, and has nothing to do with the Concerns of the other, unless it be in general to promote the Practice of Religion and Virtue.

Accordingly the Christian Writers, in the three first Centuries, upon these Principles, violently inveigh'd against Persecution, and pleaded, in the strongest Terms, for Toleration and Liberty of Conscience. Nothing, says (g) *Tertullian* in his Apology, can have a greater Tendency to propagate Irreligion in the World, or tends more to to make Men be suspected of Irreligion, than to take away from any Man the Liberty of his Religion; to take away from Men the Choice of the Deity they are to worship, and not to suffer me to worship the God I have a Mind to worship; or, against my Will, to force me to worship any God. Let the Assertors of the Lawfulness of such Practices consider, that no Man would like himself a forced Respect; no Man would like a Shew of Respect, which he knew was paid him by another against his Will, and merely because he was constrained to pay it. It is a Right of Man-

(g) Videte enim, ne & hoc ad irreligiositatis elogium concurrat, adimere libertatem religionis, & interdicere optionem divinitatis, ut non liceat mihi colere quem velim, sed cogar colere quem nolum. Nemo se ab invito coli volet, ne homo quidem. *Tertul. Apol. c. 24. p. 26.*

kind, says the same (b) Author; it is a Right we have from Nature, for every one to worship, what he thinks the most proper Object of Adoration. No Man is either hurt, or profited by another's Religion; neither is it agreeable to the true and fundamental Laws and Nature of Religion to force it on any one. Religion is to be taken up voluntarily, out of a free Choice, and we are not to be compel'd to it by Violence; for all Sacrifices are to be perform'd with a willing Mind. In the same Manner this Author argues also again in another Place: (i) where he shows, how unjust it is to compel Men to sacrifice. For besides, that Men are required, when they go about any Religious Ceremony, to perform it with a willing and free Mind; nothing can be more absurd, than to use Violence to oblige Men to worship the Gods, which they ought ever to do of their own Will, and for their own Sakes; that they might obtain their Favour. If a Man doth not desire *Jupiter* to be propitious to him, if he will have *Janus* to be angry with him, that is no Body's Business but his own: It is what no other Man, but himself, has to do with. To these Testimonies out of *Tertullian* against Persecution, it may not be improper also to add that

(b) *humani juris & naturalis potestatis est unicuique quod putaverit colere: nec alii obest aut prodest alterius religio. Sed nec religionis est cogere religionem, quæ sponte suscipi debet, non vi: cum & hostiæ ab animo libenti expostulentur.* Tertul. ad Scapulam. c. 2. p. 85.

(i) Quoniam autem facile iniquum videretur liberos homines invitos urgeri ad sacrificandum, nam & alias Divinæ Rei faciundæ libens animus indicitur, certe ineptum existimaretur, si quis ab alio cogeretur ad honorem Deorum, quos ultro sui causa placare deberet, ne præ manu esset jure libertatis dicere, nolo mihi Jovem propitium. Tu quis es? me conveniat Janus iratus ex qua velit fronte. Quid tibi mecum est? Tertul. Apol. c. 28. p. 29.

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of (k) *Lactantius*; Religion, says that Author, is not to be forced; but Men are to be brought to it by Words, that is by Persuasion, not by Blows. Much more of this Kind might be said; but it is unnecessary to multiply Quotations, in order to prove, that Christians, when they were persecuted, did violently inveigh against Persecution, as it was very natural they should do, and that even from the same Topicks which have been since used in Favour of Toleration and Liberty of Conscience.

But notwithstanding all these just Observations and strong Arguments against Persecution; and notwithstanding that these Arguments are not grounded upon the Nature or upon the particular Doctrines of either the persecuting or persecuted Religion, notwithstanding that they were all grounded upon the Nature of Religion in general, to which no Man ought to be compel'd, and to the Belief and Profession of which Men ought to be brought by Persuasion only, and not by Violence: Though these Arguments are taken from the Nature of Conscience, against the Dictates of which Men are never to act, though they are taken from the Nature of Belief and Assent, which cannot be forced; and though, lastly, as I have shewn all along in this Discourse, Persecution is directly contrary to the Spirit of the Christian Religion, the kindest and the (l) best natur'd Religion in the World; a Religion that breathes nothing but Kindness, Love and Charity: That particularly recommends to us the Forbearing one

(k) — Religio cogi non potest. Verbis, potius quam verberibus res agenda est, ut sit voluntas. Lact. instit. l. 5. c. 19. p. 518. Ed. Var. 1660.

(l) See Min. Phil. Tom. i. Dial. 5. p. 277.

another, the Bearing one another's Infirmities, especially those that are involuntary, such as were the Errors of the Judaizing Christians, which was, if not the only Heresy of those Apostolical Times, yet was that, however, which most universally prevailed: Notwithstanding, I say, all these Arguments against Persecution, most of which had been urged by Christians, in all their Force against their Heathen Persecutors; yet, when Christians came afterwards to have the Power in their own Hands, the Force of all these unanswerable Arguments was not thought worthy or proper to be observed, all these fine Reasonings were forgot; and the Christians returned the Persecution which they had suffer'd, upon those by whom they had suffer'd. And, that I may do both Heathens and Christians Justice on this Occasion, I cannot but observe, that the former then, in their Turn, retail'd upon the latter all the Arguments which, when urged upon them by Christians, were not minded, and were utterly ineffectual; nay, when Schisms and Divisions, and Heresies had arisen amongst Christians themselves, when the Christian Church was broken and divided into Sects and Parties; it is terrible to remember, that these several Sects and Parties persecuted one another with the same Rage and Fury with which the Heathens had formerly persecuted the whole Body of Christians. What is called the (*m*) Persecution of the *Vandals* in the fifth Century, in which the *Arians* persecuted the Orthodox, was as terrible as any of the ten Persecutions the Christians had suffer'd

(*m*) See of the Persecution of the Catholicks by the Arrian Vandals under Genferic ex victore Vitensi, l. 1. c. 4,—6.—Fleuri Hist. Eccl. T. 6. c. 57. p. 219,—222. But especially under Hunneric ex vict. Vit. l. 5. Fleuri ib. T. 7. l. 9. Num. 1,—13. p. 1,—27.

from the Heathens ; and the most exquisite Torments were used in it by Christians against one another ; and before that, as *Arians* and Catholics were by Turns uppermost, they persecuted and worried one another with that Rage, Rancour, and Violence, that they gave but too just an Occasion for that severe Reflection of *Julian's*, that he knew no wild Beasts so fierce, or so cruel, as the Christians were to one another.

I cannot but observe, that it is surprizing that St. (n) *Chrysostom* could assert, that no Christian Emperor ever made Laws against Heathens, when not only the Laws of *Constantine*, but even those of *Theodosius*, in whose Time he had lived the greatest Part of his Life, must have been at that Time fresh in every Body's Memory. It cannot but be observed, that the four Books of the Life of *Constantine* by *Eusebius*, are full of Imperial Laws and Edicts, which, in the Reign of that Prince, were published against Heathenism. And in this Particular the other Ecclesiastical Historians, *Socrates* and *Sozomen* perfectly agree with this last Author. No sooner, in short, was *Constantine* become peaceable Possessor of the Empire by his Victories over *Maxentius* and *Licinius*, but he began to be a Zealot in the Cause of Christianity, and persecuted the Heathens. An Account of this Emperor's Laws against Heathenism, immediately follows *Eusebius's* Account of those Times. And that Author begins his Second Book of his Life with an Account of his Laws against Idolatry ; against (o) erecting or making Statues of the Gods ; and against any Per-

(n) Vide Chrysost Orat. 2. in Bab. p. 444, 445.

(o) ——— μήτε ἐγέρσεις ξοάνων ποιῆσαι τομᾶν, μήτε μαρτύριαις καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις περιεργίαις ἐπιχειρεῖν, μήτε μὴ δοῦναι καθόλου μηδέν. *Euseb. de vita Const. l. 2. c. 45.* Vide *Socr. Hist. Eccl. l. 1. c. 3.* & *Sozom. l. 1. c. 8.*

presuming to offer Sacrifices, which he couples with those (p) magical Operations, that must have been at that Time very rife in *Rome*, because both before and after *Constantine*, from *Tiberius* to *Valentinian* and *Valens*, we find express Laws against Magick. These and many such Exploits of *Constantine* against Heathenism do we find in *Eusebius's* Books of his Life. We are told there also of Heathen Temples which he caused to be (q) demolished; such was the Temple of *Venus* near *Libanon*; another Temple of *Venus* in *Heliopolis*; and a Temple of *Esculapius*. There is, however, an unlucky Note of *Valesius* on this Occasion, which spoils all the high Panegyricks *Eusebius* bestows upon this Religious Zeal of *Constantine*: For *Valesius* tells us in it, that it was not out of his fervent Concern for the true Religion, but to adorn his own new City of *Constantinople*, that *Constantine* plundered other Cities, and rob'd them of their Statues. In short, he kept the Statues of Brass to be an Ornament to *Constantinople*, and coin'd into Money the Gold and Silver, with which several of the Heathen Statues were cover'd. And, indeed, it cannot but be observed, that this may be proved even from what *Eusebius* himself tells us of *Constantine*, namely, that he put the Statues of (r) *Apollo* in the *Hippodromium* of *Constantinople*, and the Statues of the *Muses* in his own Palace. It cannot be denied, however, but that the Laws of

(p) This is the Sense of the Word *περιεργασίας*. Vide *Vales.* ad illud τὰ μαγικά περιεργάζεσθαι. Ib. c. 25.

(q) Vide *Euseb.* ib. l. 3. c. 55, 56. p. 512, 513. Vide de templo Veneris & Phatidis *Zozim.* l. 1. p. 53, 54. Ed. Oxon. Vide *Vales.* in annot. ad *Euseb.* ib. c. 54, 55.

(r) Vide *Euseb.* ib. c. 54. p. 510, 511. & *Vales.* in loc. Vid. *Zozim.* l. 2. p. 107.

Constantine against Heathenism, were very ill observed.

(*s*) *Tillemont*, indeed, is very unwilling that *Constantine* should lose the Honour of having persecuted Heathenism: And to this it may be added, that (*t*) *Optatus*, who lived near to the Time of *Constantine*, and consequently is of the greater Authority, agrees with *Tillemont*; when speaking of, what he calls, the happy Times of *Constantine*, he says, there was then no Schism in the Church, and it was not lawful for the Heathens to perform their sacrilegious Ceremonies. But notwithstanding all this, the learned (*u*) L'Enfant, in his Preface to his *French* Translation to the Revelations, has shewn from the *Theodosian* Code, that Idolatry flourish'd as much as ever in the Time of *Constantine* and his Successors: And it is remarkable that *Valesius* says, that it was only private Sacrifices that were forbidden by *Constantine*, and that publick ones were still allow'd. He adds, that this most (*x*) Religious Prince wish'd, indeed, all his Subjects would become Christians; but he compel'd none. This also is confirmed by (*y*) *Eusebius*, who, it is to be observed here, and in many other Particulars, is not always very consistent with himself. *Constantine*, says *Eusebius*, desired, that not only the Faithful, but also those that were

(*s*) Hist. des Empereurs, Tom. 4. part. 1. in Const. p. 318, — 335.

(*t*) In ecclesia nulla fuerant schismata, nec Paganis licebat exercere sacra sacrilegia, Opt. l. 2. p. 53. Ed. Meric. Casaub.

(*u*) See in the Berlin French Test. L'Enfant's Preface upon the Revelations. Ex Cod. Theod. l. 16. tit. 10.

(*x*) — religiofissimus princeps omnes quidem mortales ad Christi fidem transire maxime concupuit: neminem tamen ad id unquam coegit. Vales. in Euseb. de vita Const. l. 2. c. 56.

(*y*) ὁμοίαν τοῖς πιστεύουσιν οἱ πλανώμενοι καὶ βοῦντες λαμβανέτωσαν εἰρήνης τε καὶ ἡσυχίας ἀπολαύσιν, &c. Euseb. ib. p. 469.

in Error, οἱ πλανώμενοι, should enjoy Peace and Quietness in his Reign. He would not have his Subjects, upon Account of Religion, to give one another any Disturbance ; but that every one should do what he would, that is, should follow the Religion that he thought best.

To come now to the Sons of *Constantine* ; *Symmachus*, in what he calls his Relation or Report to *Valentinian* the Younger, about the Altar of Victory, says, that this Altar stood in the Time of *Constantius*, who, he observes, was indeed a zealous Christian, but being a Favourer of Arianism, seem'd more favourable even to the Heathens, than to the Catholicks, whom he persecuted during the whole Course of his Reign.

Constantius, it seems indeed, did not comply with the vehement Exhortations of *Firmicus Maternus* to him and his Brothers, in which, in the Style of the most furious popish Missionary, that Author endeavours to persuade *Constantius* and his Brothers to extinguish Idolatry, to destroy both Heathenism and Heathens ; and tells them, that (z) little now is to be done, to have the Devil, by their Laws, lie prostrate at their Feet, and to prevent the Poyson of Idolatry from spreading any farther : That (a) Christ, being favourable to his People, had reserved to their Hands, the Extirpation of Idolatry, and the Ruin of (b) profane

(z) Modicum tantum superest, ut legibus vestris, funditus prostratus Diabolus jaceat, ut extinctæ idololatriæ pereat funesta contagio. Tul. Firm. Mat. de Errore Prof. Rel. p. 43. ad calcem Min. Fel. Ed. Var.

(a) Felices vos quoque gloriæ ac voluntatis suæ Deus fecit esse participes, Idololatriæ excidium, & profanarum ædium ruinas propitius Christus populo vestris manibus reservavit. Id. ib.

(b) Tollite, tollite securi, sacratissimi imperatores, ornamenta templorum. Ib. p. 59.

Temples ;

Temples; and adds, that there lay upon them an indispensable Obligation to revenge and punish the Injury done to God by Idolatry: That it was a (c) Command of the Great God to them, that it was in every Way in their Power severely to punish the Crime of Idolatry; and, lastly, which shows he goes further than what, in the Language of Persecution, which some Years ago was so fashionable amongst us, was called wholesome Severity; he proposes to these Princes the Command given to the *Jews*, in the xvth of *Deuteronomy*, of putting to Death a (d) Wife, a Son, a Brother, or an intimate Friend, that should dare to worship other Gods; and again recommends to the Practice of the same Princes, that other Command in the same Chapter of the said Book, where the *Jews* are order'd to destroy, utterly with the Sword, (e) whole Cities, in which any should be found that should go about to entice them to serve other Gods; and finally concludes the Whole with a most charitable (f) Exhortation to them, to fulfil this Law of God, and to do what God commands, that is, to destroy all Heathens with the Sword.

As the Bounds intended for this Work will not take in every Thing that might be alledg'd in Proof of what is advanced in it; I shall refer the Reader to the *Theodosian Code*, for an Account of that Emperor's Laws against

(c) Sed & vobis, facrat. imper. ad vindicandum & puniendum hoc malum necessitas imperatur, & hoc vobis Dei summi lege præcipitur, ut severitas vestra idololatriæ facinus omnifaciam persequitur. Id. ib. p. 62.

(d) Nec filio jubet parci, nec fratri, & per amatam conjugem gladium vindicem ducit. Ib. p. 63.

(e) Integris etiam civitatibus, si in isto fuerint facinore deprehensæ, decernuntur excidia. Ib.

(f) Facite itaque quod jubet, complete quod præcipit. Id. ibid.

Idolatry ; and here only mention *Zosimus's* Complaints of, what he calls, Persecution in that Emperor, which however was nothing more than what the Heathen Predecessors of *Theodosius* had exercised against Christians ; and what if *Zosimus* had lived in those Times, he, perhaps, would not have called Persecution. He complains, in short, that what he calls (g) ἑδὴ or ἑδὴ Θεῶν, were every where destroy'd, or rather besieged (ἐπολιορκεῖτο ;) that it was (h) dangerous even to believe in the Gods ; and a Crime to look up to Heaven, and to worship what was seen there τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ (Ουρανῷ) προσκυνεῖν ; by this he seems to mean the Sun and the Stars ; but it is to be observed, that that Sort of Worship does not seem much to have been practised amongst the *Romans*, especially at that Time of the Declension of the Heathen Idolatry. In the same Book, however, *Zosimus* tells us also, how *Theodosius*, having in vain exhorted the Senate to relinquish (i) what he called their Errors, that is, to relinquish Heathenism, and to embrace the Christian Faith, which promised the Pardon of all Manner of Sins, he at last declared to them his firm Resolution to abolish Sacrifices ; which were from that Time no longer to be performed at the Expence of the *Fiscus* or publick Treasury : That upon this *Fiscus* they were a needless Charge, and the Money, that was formerly apply'd to that Use, was now want-

(g) Vide Zof. l. 4. p. 244.

(h) κινδυνός τε πᾶσιν ἐπέκειτο τοῖς νομίζουσιν εἶναι Θεούς, ἢ ὅλως εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναδλέπουσι, καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ φαινόμενα προσκυνᾶσι. Id. ib. p. 245.

(i) — παρακαλῶν ἀφίεναι μὲν ἢν πρότερον αὐτῇ εἶναι (ὡς αὐτὸς ἔλεγε) πλάνην, ἰλεσθαι δὲ τὴν τῶν χριστιανῶν πίσιν, ἥς ἐπαγγελία, παντὸς αμαρτήματος, καὶ πάσης ἀσεβείας ἀπαλλαγῇ. Id. ibid. p. 283.

ed to defray the necessary (k) military Expences. This, however, was but a slight Persecution, if it be to be called by that Name, and Protestants, we are very sensible, would have highly thanked their Princes in popish Countries, if their Persecution had gone no farther, than that the publick Money should not go to defray the Charge of their Religious Exercises.

The Spirit of Persecution was, however, now so firmly rooted in Men's Minds, that even that Ruin and Desolation of *Rome* by *Alarick*, which, not to mention other Writers, is so pathetically described, and painted in such strong and moving Colours by St. (l) *Jerom* and *Pelagius*, was so far from extinguishing this Spirit of Persecution, that it even rather fermented and inflamed it; and under that Spirit, not only Idolaters, but Schismatics and Hereticks also; not only Heathens, but *Donatists* and *Arians* most severely suffer'd.

It is strange, as I have before (m) observed, that St. *Chrysostom*, who lived after some of these Laws were enacted, and in the Time when others were enacting, should affirm, that the Christians never persecuted the Heathens, as the Heathens had persecuted the Christians: And not less surprizing, that he could bring that as an Argument against Heathenism and Heresies to show their natural Weakness, that though God was pleased to let them enjoy great Peace and Tranquillity, yet they

(k) ——— κ' ἄλλως τῆς στρατιωτικῆς χρείας πλείονων δεομένης χρημάτων. Id. ib. p. 284.

(l) Vide de excidio Romæ Hierom. ep. 11. c. 6. & ep. 16. c. 6. Pelag. ep. ad Demetriad. c. 30.

(m) ——— οὐδείς τῶν τὰ Χριστῷ φρονούντων βασιλεὺς δόγματα καθ' ὑμῶν ἔθηκε τοιαῦτα, διὰ καθ' ὑμῶν οἱ τὰ δαιμόνων θεραπεύσαντες ἐπενόησαν. Chrysost. T. 5. Orat. 64. Seu. 2. in Babylon. P. 444, 445.

moulder'd and dwindled away, without any outward Force being made Use of to destroy them ; whereas it pleased God, that he might set forth the great Power and Efficacy of Christianity, that the Gospel should be (n) persecuted, and, as it were, fought against, and yet should increase by Means of those very Persecutions, of those very Wars ; by which Men were made to further that Progress of the Gospel, they would have hinder'd.

To this Account of *Chrysostom*, I cannot but add, that of *Gregory Naz.* who indeed was contemporary to *Theodosius*, who made all these Laws against Heathenism ; but then it must be own'd it was before the Enacting of these Laws, and even before *Theodosius* was Emperor, he writ his Invectives against *Julian*. Notwithstanding this, however, he could not but know that many Laws against Heathenism were enacted by *Theodosius's* Christian Predecessors, and, therefore, nothing can be more surprising, than both the Vehemence and Assurance with which he asks the Heathens, (o) when it was they were persecuted by Christians ; when it was they were deprived of their Freedom, Παρρησίας, that is, I suppose, when it was they were hinder'd from performing freely their Religious Worship ; when it was that popular Tumults were raised, that bigotted Mobs (ζήοντες) were spirited against them ; whether they ever were put in Danger of their Lives, or ever suf-

(n) Vide Chrysost. ὁ Θεὸς τὴν μὲν πίσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀληθῆ καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ἐν πολλοῖς συγχορεῖ πολεμεῖσθαι· ταὶ δὲ αἱρέσεις καὶ τὸν ἑλληνισμόν ἀφίησιν ἀδείας ἀπουλαίνειν. Orat. 94. p. 631.

(o) — τὶ τοιοῦτο παρὰ Χριστιανῶν πώποτε συνέβη τοῖς ὑμετέροις, δια παρ' ὑμῶν πολλάκις Χριστιανοῖς ; ποίας παρρησίας ὑμᾶς ἀπεσεργήσαμεν, Greg. Naz. invect. 1. in Julien. p. 60. Ed. Montacut.

fer'd Death upon Account of their Religion ; and whether, on that Account, they had ever been kept from secular Dignities, from those Honours that were due to the best of Men. Whatever might be the Justice of the greater Part of this vehement Expostulation, it must be owned, that this last Particular, indeed, was true in some Measure : For some of the greatest Preferments of the Empire were enjoy'd by Heathens, in the Times of *Valentinian*, *Valens*, and *Theodosius*. It cannot but be acknowledged, that under these Reigns, *Symmachus*, a most zealous Advocate for Heathenism, was Prefect of *Rome*, and *Prætextatus*, another bigotted Heathen, was Consul. And this is well observed by (p) *Prudentius*, in his Answer to *Symmachus*, where he says, that Religion ought not to be a Bar to any Man's Preferment, that otherwise deserved it.

But whatever may have been the Case in these different Instances, of how far the Heathens were, and how far they were not persecuted by the Christians ; it is a most afflicting Truth, that the Persecutions of Christians against Christians, when both Hereticks and Orthodox persecuted one another, were much fiercer, were more violent, and were pursued with more Eagerness and Fury than any Thing that was ever done against the Heathens. I acknowledge, that it cannot be denied but that Persecution was begun by the Orthodox : But suffer me to add to that, that the *Arians* soon

(p) Denique pro meritis terrestribus æqua rependens
Munera sacricolis, summos impertit honores
Dux bonus, & certare finit cum laude suorum :
Nec Pago implicitos per debita culmina mundi
Ire viros prohibet : quoniam cœlestia nunquam
Terrenis solitum per iter gradientibus obstant.

Prud. contra Symmach. l. 1. p. 300. Ed. Plantin. 1564.

amply return'd the severe Usage they had met with from their Adversaries. *Constantine* himself persecuted by Turns both the Orthodox and *Arians*; and the two Heads of both Parties, *Athanasius* and *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, had their Turns of being banish'd by that Emperor: Nay, *Constantine* even commanded that the *Arians* should be called (q) *Porphyrians*, as if they were downright Heathens, and as great Enemies to Christianity, as *Porphyry* had been. And to show that Hereticks were no longer to be deemed Christians, but were to be ranked amongst the fiercest Adversaries of the Gospel, the same Emperor order'd, that what he called the impious Books of *Arius* should be abolished (ἀφανισθῆναι) and whoever conceal'd, and did not burn those Books of *Arius* which they had by them, were to suffer Death. (r) *Constantine*, after this however, soon changed his Sentiments, and was reconciled to *Arius*, who never recanted his Herefy, as some Historians will have it, though that Recantation is not mentioned in *Constantine's* Letter to him; nay (s) *Constantine* even went so far as to threaten *Athanasius* with Deposition, if he did not communicate with *Arius*, though *Arius* had never received the *Nicene* Council, and the Word *Ομολοσιος* is not to be found in the Confession of Faith he presented to that Emperor, and upon which he was reconciled to him.

In the Time of *Constantius*, when the *Arians* prevailed, I do not, indeed, remember any Law

(q) πορφυριάνες καλεῖσθαι, &c. Vide Constantini epist. apud Socrat. Hist. Eccl. l. i. c. 9. p. 42.

(r) Vide Socrat. ib. c. 26. p. 61. Zosom. c. 27, 28. p. 485, 486.

(s) Vide Constantini ep. ad Athan. c. 34. p. 69, 70.

or Imperial Edict against the Orthodox; but it is to be observed, that both the *Arians* and Orthodox severally complain of the ill Treatment, which, without any Form of Law, they suffer'd at that Time from their respective Adversaries. It appears by (t) *Athanasius*, and by the Fragments of *Hilary*, that Massacres, abusing consecrated Virgins, prophaning holy Mysteries, that is, the Sacrament of the Eucharist, and exposing them to the Sight of the Heathens. In short, all the most monstrous Outrages that could be committed were charged by these Fathers upon the *Arians*. But then it is to be observed, on the other Hand, that the same Outrages are charged by the *Arians* upon the Catholics. In one Word, these riotous Persecutions were, at that Time, what *Arians* and Catholics reciprocally charged upon one another. Both Hereticks and Orthodox most pathetically complain of them, and tragically set forth the Effects of them; the former in their Council of *Philippopolis*, and the latter in their's of *Sardica*.

I have before observed, that greater Cruelties were exercised by the *Vandal* Kings upon the Catholics, than ever were practised by Heathens themselves against Christians: And from these, and other Instances that are hereafter to be mentioned, it is but too plain that Christians persecuted one another with more Zeal, or rather with more Rage and Fury than ever they persecuted the Heathens themselves. *Nestorius* Bishop of *Constantinople* was a most fierce Persecutor of *Arians*, of *Apollinarians*, of *Novatians*, and, indeed, of all

(t) Vide Concil. Philip. apud Hilarium in Fragm. Col. 468, 469, 473. Concil. Sardic. p. 437. Et Athan. Apol. 2. p. 749. Vide Athan. Apol. pro Fuga, p. 705, 707. Apol. 1. p. 693. Ed. Colon. 1686.

Dissenters from the Orthodox established Opinions. It is a very memorable Speech of that Bishop to *Theodosius* the Younger, which we have in *Socrates* the Historian: (u) “ O! Emperor, “ give me the Earth cleansed of all Hereticks, “ and I will give you Heaven by Way of Re- “ compence,” and afterwards “ destroy the Here- “ ticks for me, and I will destroy the *Persians* for “ you.” *Socrates* goes on to show, what Mischief this Spirit of Persecution did in the Church; how it blow’d up a Fire that never could be quenched, and was like to have destroyed and consumed the whole World.

It is however very remarkable, that *Nestorius*, from a Persecutor of Hereticks, soon after came himself to be persecuted as a Heretick. The Jealousy of the Power and Authority of the See of *Constantinople*, raised the Zeal of the Bishops of *Rome* and *Alexandria*; and great Dissentions and Differences constantly arose between the Bishops of those Sees, both before *Nestorius*, in the Quarrel between St. *Chrysostom* and *Theophilus* of *Alexandria*, and, after his Time, between *Dioscorus* and *Flavian*, the respective Bishops of those Sees.

Nestorius, however, became an Heretick, because he would not use the Word Θεοτόκος, nor call the blessed Virgin the Mother of God. He would not say, (x) that God, that is, Christ as God was born, and that God suffer’d, and died. *Nes-*

(u) δὸς μοι ὁ βασιλεὺς καθαρὰν τὴν γῆν τῶν αἰρετικῶν, καὶ γὰρ σοὶ τὸν ἔρανον ἀντιδώσω. *Socrat. Hist. Eccl. c. 29. p. 370.*

(x) Vide *Cyrill. ad Nestor. Concil. Ephes. part. 2. p. 119.* & quæ respondet *Nestorius*, ib. c. 19. p. 222. *Conc. Ed. Bin. 1618. Tom. 1.*

torius avow'd, that he could not acknowledge, nor could believe in *Trimestrem Deum*, (y) Τριμηνιαίον Θεόν, in a God of three Months old. This Bishop, as *Socrates* observes, was not, however, of the Opinion of *Photinus* or *Paulus Samosatenus*, who believed Christ to be a mere Man; but he was frighten'd by a single Word: The Word Θεότοκος, Mother of God, was, as (z) *Socrates* said, a Sort of Bug-Bear to him; and for the Sake of that Word he was condemned by the first Council of *Ephesus*, whose Proceedings, I cannot but observe, were perhaps more irregular than those of the Council of *Trent*, or the Synod of *Dort*, and were even carried on with less Moderation and Temper. By this Council *Nestorius* was in fine deposed, though for the Sake of Peace, he offer'd to use the Word Θεότοκος, and to call the blessed Virgin the Mother of God; and was banish'd first to his Monastery of *Antioch*, out of which he was taken and made a Bishop. And after having been banish'd to several other Places, in which he was thought to enjoy too much Peace and Quiet, he was, at Length, removed to the (a) Desarts of *Oasis*, where he perish'd of Misery and Want, (b) "*Dignum vitæ exitum sortitum*," says *Dr. Cave*, in his great Zeal against Heresy and Hereticks.

That *Nestorius's* Followers might be made as infamous as they were miserable, that weak Em-

(y) Concil. Ephes. ib. p. 192. Ego, inquit Nestorius, qui fuit duorum vel trium mensium nunquam confitebor Deum. Liberatus in Breviario, c. 6. p. 179. col. 2. Ed. Concil. Bin. T. 2.

(z) Vide Socrat. ubi supra.

(a) Vide Evagrium Hist. Eccl. l. 1. c. 7. p. 265. Vide Liberat. ubi supra, c. 6. p. 179. col. 2.

(b) Vide Cave Hist. Lit. in Nest. p. 266. col. 2. Ed. Genev. 1720.

peror, who before had favour'd the Cause of this Bishop, besides other Penalties order'd by a publick Edict, that the *Nestorians* should be called (c) *Simonians*, and forbad the Keeping or Reading the Books of *Nestorius*, whom he charges with Impiety and Sacrilege. The Books of *Nestorius*, in short, were now not much better treated, than those of *Porphry*, against Christianity, which the (d) same Emperor order'd should be burnt, and thereby has imprudently given too great a Handle to the Infidels of later Times; who, from what was done in a bigotted Age, when Learning began to decay, take, very unjustly, Occasion to reflect upon the Christians, as if they had burnt them not in Detestation of the Wickedness of them, but because they fear'd the Objections of the greatest Enthusiast in the World, of a Man that had a most unphilosophical Turn; who, with respect to Christianity, was indeed a thorough Infidel; but as (e) *B. Berkly* observes, was far from being an incredulous Man. In short, the Misfortune is, that the greatest Bigots to Paganism, *Porphry*, (f) *Zosimus*, *Eunapius*, those who relate more false Miracles than the most fabulous Writers of Legends in the Church of *Rome* could invent, are all sure to have the Applause of our modern Race of People, who are pleas'd to call themselves Free-Thinkers. In short, all Bigots of all Religions, except Christian Bigots, are the Favourites

(c) Σιμωνιάνας ὀνομάζεσθαι. Concil. Eph. part 3. p. 469.

(d) — ὥς τε πάντα, ὅσα Πορφύριος — κατὰ τῆς εὐσεβῆς θεολογίας τῶν Χριστιανῶν συνέγραψε παρ' οἰωδῆποτε σιγασκόμενα, πυρὶ παραδίδοσθαι. Edictum Theodosii junioris contra Porphyry. Concil. Eph. ib. p. 470.

(e) See Min. Phil. vol. 2. Dial. Num. 25. p. 95,—97.

(f) See as to Zosimus Phil. El. Lipf. (Bentley) remarks, &c. part 2. p. 20,—23. Ed. 6.

of our modern Infidels, provided only, that they expose, and heartily hate Christianity and Christians.

But to return to the more immediate Business of this Treatise : As the Bishops of those Times happen'd to have the Power and Authority of the Emperors on their Side, their several Tenets were declared orthodox or heretical. And the Assertors of these Tenets were by Turns condemned and deposed by Councils, and afterwards banish'd by Imperial Edicts : Nay, there were many murder'd in popular Tumults. These were generally rais'd and encouraged by the Monks, who, to do them Justice, both then, and ever since, have been the great Incendiaries of Christendom. Thus *Flavian*, Bishop of *Constantinople*, deposed the Abbot *Eutyches* in a Council of that City. But soon afterwards, by the Intrigues of *Dioscorus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, who was supported by the younger *Theodosius*, *Flavian* was himself deposed at the second Council of *Ephesus*. And this very *Dioscorus* was afterwards himself deposed by that of *Chalcedon*. This Man, amongst other Crimes that were alledged against him, was, in short, turn'd out of his Bishoprick, for being an (g) Abettor of *Eutyches* ; and for having deposed *Flavian*, and excommunicated the Pope, who was then *Leo* the First.

(b) Swords and Staves, Soldiers and armed Monks, decided the Doctrine, and determined the Event of the second Council of *Ephesus*. In that Council, Bishops were forced to sign a Paper,

(g) Vide Concil. Chalced. T. 2. p. 43. Vide Evag. c. 4. p. 290,—292. Concil. Chalced. Act. 2. p. 192.

(b) Vide illud Liberati “ metu militum & monachorum stantium cum gladiis & fustibus”. Liberat. ibid. c. 12. p. 184. col. 2.

in which the Deposition and Condemnation of *Flavian* was decreed. And *Dioscorus* was charged with the Murder of *Flavian*, who died of the Blows he had received, (i) *Dolore Plagarum migravit ad Dominum*, says *Liberatus*.

A few Days after this happen'd the tragical Death of (k) *Protirius* of *Alexandria*, who was murder'd by *Timothy Aelurus* an *Eutychian*, and who by that Murder got himself into that See; and not long after that *John* of *Constantinople* was murder'd by *Dorothy* of *Thessalonica*. And thus did the Bishops of those Times not only excommunicate and depose, but even butcher and murder one another.

In the Seventh Century, when the Church was divided by the Disputes about Monotheism, it is said of (l) *Paul* of *Constantinople*, that he imprison'd, banish'd, and even whip'd the Orthodox, that is, those that were of a different Opinion from himself. And *Pyrrhus* his Predecessor is charged with having treated in the same Manner the Pope's Apochrifaries, or, as we now call them, the Pope's Legates.

Upon the Whole, it is terrible that, in all these Differences between Catholick and heretical Bishops, both Parties should complain of the Blood that was shed in those Religious Quarrels, which, however, as appears from the Instances I have quoted, are not to be charged upon Catholics

(i) Vide *Liberat. ib. c. 12. p. 182. Homicidam Deus deposuit. Liberat. ib. c. 13. p. 185.*

(k) Vide *Evagrium, l. 2. c. 8. p. 299,—302. Vide eadem fere de Proterii cæde ex epistola Episc. Ægypt. Concil. Chalced. part 3. p. 373,—375.*

(l) *Verberibus, & clausuris, atque exiliis Orthodoxos viros submittebat. Vide Concil. Roman. sub Martino Primo apud Bin. p. 447. col. 2.*

alone. The Murderer of *Flavian* was *Dioscorus*: *Proterius* of *Alexandria* was murder'd by *Eutychian* Monks, and an *Eutychian* Bishop. Of that Party was *Theodosius*, who would have been Bishop of *Jerusalem*, and of whose Cruelties, in a (m) Rescript against him, the Emperor *Marcian* has given us an Account.

Pyrrhus and *Paul* of *Constantinople* were *Monotheletes*. This Sect were the Assertors of one Will in Christ, and were ever look'd upon as a Branch of *Entichyanism*. In the Century before, *Severus* of *Antioch* was at the Head of that Branch of *Eutychians*, who affirm'd the Body of Christ was corruptible; whence they were called *Corrupticoli*. He (n) made Use of Violence to oblige Bishops to subscribe his *Creed*, and to anathematize the Council of *Chalcedon*. But then the Catholics were afterwards even with *Severus's* Followers. For (o) Dr. *Cave*, seemingly with a good deal of Pleasure, tells us, that *Justinian* afterwards made an Edict, by which those, who kept the Writings, or even the Words (*dicta*) of this *Severus* were to have their Hands cut off.

I cannot but observe, that in this Division of the *Eutychians*, the Enemies of the Council of *Chalcedon*, in his Schism between those who asserted the Body of Christ to be corruptible, and those who asserted it to be incorruptible, the Differences rose to a very terrible Height. And, in fine, a Sort of Battle was fought about it at *Alexandria*, between the People and the Monks on the one Side,

(m) Vide Rescript. Marciani Imp. Concil. Chalced. p. 357. part 3.

(n) Vide Concil. sub Menna const. p. 711, 712. Liberat. in Brev. c. 20. p. 190.

(o) Vide Cave Hist. Lit. p. 323, 324. ad Ann. 513.

and (p) *Narſes's* Soldiers, who were the Emperor's Soldiers, on the other. In this tragical Affair the Mob of the Monks prevailed for that Side of the Question, which asserted the Incorruptibility of Christ's Body, and *Narſes* and his Soldiers were repulſed: Which Instance, with many others of a like Kind, ſhow how little the Doctrine of paſſive Obedience was practiſed in thoſe early Times of Chriſtianity; and that in thoſe Ages, as well as in our own Times, Nature has rebel'd againſt Principle, provided that paſſive Obedience ever was a Principle of Religion in thoſe early Times.

It is but Juſtice to obſerve, however, that notwithstanding that this Sort of Perſecution, this Murdering one another, was in theſe Times equally complain'd of, and, I am afraid, equally practiſed both by Catholicks and Hereticks; yet it was not countenanced by any publick Authority, and was ſeldom or never enjoin'd by any Laws Eccleſiaſtical or Civil. Theſe Murders were indeed only committed by incenſed and bigotted Mobs, that were drunk with a mad, ignorant Religious Zeal, and let looſe upon thoſe whom they were taught to call Hereticks, by ſeditious Monks and ambitious Biſhops, whoſe principal End, in all this Butchery, generally was to thruſt themſelves into the Sees that were poſſeſſ'd by their Adverſaries, whom they, for that Reaſon, thought fit to call the Adverſaries of Religion. We muſt do the ſupreme Magiſtracy of thoſe Times the Juſtice, indeed, to obſerve, that we read of very few ſanguinary Laws that were made by any of the Emperors upon a Religious Account. *Conſtantine*, indeed, as I mentioned before from *Socrates*, had made a Law, that whoever kept any of *Arius's*

Books should suffer Death : And in the (q) *Theodosian* Code we find a Law of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, in which it is enacted, That whoever shall conceal any Books of the famous Heretick *Eunomius*, should likewise be capitally punish'd. But it is to be observed, that it does not appear that either of these Laws were ever put in Execution. They were rather made *in terrorem*, which, as *Valerius* observes, was the Case of most of those Laws against Hereticks, which we find in the *Theodosian* Code.

There are, indeed, in that Code, several other Laws of *Honorius*, which order the *Encratites*, the *Manichæans*, and, particularly, the *Donatists*, to be put to Death. But we have never heard of any one of those Schismatics or Hereticks, the two former of which hardly ought to be called Christians that was capitally punish'd by virtue of these Laws.

The Laws for putting the *Donatists* to Death, were indeed rather Civil than Ecclesiastical Laws, and were chiefly enacted against the (r) *Circumcellioſi*, a Set of phanatical Enthusiasts, who thought they were authorized, by their Zeal for their Sect, to commit all Sorts of Outrages against the Catholics, and even to (s) kill them. And these enthusiastick Zealots look'd upon the Catholics, it seems, as Idolaters and Apostates, because they derived their Ministry and Mission from *Cecilian* Bishop of *Carthage*, who, they said, was ordained by

(q) Vide Cod. Theod. l. 16. Tit. 5. de Hereticis Leg. 348.

(r) Vide Augustin. Ep. 48, 50, 68. & alibi passim. N.B. The Epistles are quoted according to the old Editions.

(s) Taceo crudelissimas cædes, & domorum depredationes, &c. Augustin, Ep. 50. quæ ad Bonifac.

a *Traditor*, by (t) *Felix* Bishop of *Aphthongium*, whom they falsely charged with having deliver'd up the Scriptures, in the Time of *Dioclesian*, to save himself from Persecution.

Such Hereticks and Schismaticks, if we are so to call them, as these *Circumcellians* were, are very plainly upon the Foot of other Murderers and Malefactors, who justly suffer for disturbing the publick Peace. And yet, as great an Advocate for Persecution as *St. Austin* was, as I shall shew in the Sequel of this Discourse; yet in several of his Epistles, he intercedes (u) with *Marcellinus*, *Aphthongius*, and other Judges, that these furious *Donatists* might not be put to Death; and prays they might not suffer upon Account of any Outrages they had committed against the Catholics.

The Story of the *Priscillianists* is well known from (x) *Sulpitius Severus*. *Priscillian*, and several of his Disciples, in short, were sentenced to Death by the Emperor, or rather the Usurper *Maximus*, the Murderer of his Predecessor the good Emperor *Gatian*. These real or pretended Hereticks, for whether they were so or not, a great modern (y) Author very much questions, were put to Death by this Usurper, at the Instigation of *Itba-*

(t) Vide Optat. l. 1. & Augustin. Ep. 68.

(u) Poena sane illorum, quamvis de tantis sceleribus confessorum; rogo te, ut præter supplicium mortis sit, & propter conscientiam nostram, & propter Catholicam mansuetudinem commendandam. Aug. ad Marcell. ep. 158, 159, 160. Vide etiam 127.

(x) Vide Sulp. Sev. Hist. sacra, l. 2. c. 47, — 51. p. 282, — 292. Ed. Leipf. 1709.

(y) Vide Beaufobre dissertat. sur les Adamites, part 2. p. 366, — 379. at the End of L'Enfant's History of the Hussites and the Council of Basil.

cins (z), and other over-zealous Prelates, with whom afterwards St. (a) *Martin*, and other (b) *Catholick* Bishops, would not communicate, upon Account of their being the Promoters, and Instruments of this Slaughter, which St. *Martin* and his Brethren thought to be downright Murder.

We find therefore, when we come to examine strictly into the Truth, that it really was not the primitive *Catholick Church*, but it was the *Roman Catholick Church*, the modern and most *Catholick Church of Rome*, that Church which insolently called itself the only *Catholick Church*, that for so many Ages practised this murdering Sort of Persecution. The Church of *Rome* we find, in short, soon fell upon this Way of persecuting those she called Hereticks, and that with a Cruelty unparallel'd in all Countries and in all Religions.

It is a most just Observation, upon the Whole, of a very great Preacher; a late Primate of this Church, that (c) there has been more, much more Blood of Protestants, and other pretended Hereticks, shed by Papists, than there was in all the ten Heathen Persecutions. In regard to the latter, it is indeed plain, that the Accounts of Martyrs that suffer'd in those Persecutions, have been very

(z) Hoc fere modo homines luce indignissimi, pessimo exemplo necati, aut exiliis multati, &c. Sulp. Sev. *ibid.* c. 51. p. 291.

(a) Vide Sulp. Sev. *Dialog.* 3. c. 11, — 13. p. 495, — 502.

(b) Vide Ambros. *Ep.* 52, 56. apud Beaufobre ubi supra, p. 370. Idacius cum Ursacio episcopo, ob necem Priscilliani, cujus accusatores extiterant ecclesie communionem privatus, exilio condemnatur, ibique diem ultimum obiit, Theodosio majore & Valentiniano regnantibus. Isid. *Hippalens.* in *Catal.* c. 11. apud Bens. *ibid.* p. 371.

(c) See Archb. — p. Tillot. *Posthum.* *Serm.* 15. p. 384. 2 Ed. Oct. 1700.

much swell'd, and their Number very much magnified; and though several learned Men of the Church of *Rome* have endeavour'd to confute what Mr. (d) *Dodwell* has said of the small Number of Martyrs; yet *Tillemont*, the greatest Critick amongst them in Ecclesiastical History, though he receives but too many Accounts of the Martydoms, which, by the Rules himself has laid down, must be palpably false; yet he rejects a vast Number of those that are admitted by *Bollandus*, *Papebrock*, and the other Jesuits that have compiled the Acts of Martyrs. He allows, in short, of very few Acts of those Martyrs, that are said to have suffer'd under *Domitian*, and rejects many more in his Account of the following Persecutions.

So early as the latter End of the fifth Century, it is well known that Pope (e) *Gelasus* would not have the Acts of Martyrs to be read at *Rome* in his Church; and that because, even in those Times, it was very difficult to distinguish the true from the false. The Authors of these Acts, in short, were not known; and it is plain that they were written by Persons who wanted both Ability and Sincerity; and that Things were often related in them in a confused, uncertain Manner, and plainly not agreeably to Truth.

(d) Vide Dod. dissert. Cyprian. 11. & maxime Num. 7. 12. p. 227. — 232. See the famous Passage of Origen, where he says, there were but few Christians that suffer'd Martyrdom before his Time. Vide illud. "Ολίγοι κατὰ καιρὸς καὶ ἀποδείξαντες ἑαυτοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν διαστροφῆς τεινέμενοι. Orig. contra Celsum, l. 3. p. 116.

(e) — Secundum antiquam consuetudinem, singulari cautela in sancta Romana ecclesia non leguntur (gesta sanctorum martyrum) quia & eorum, qui conscribere, nomina penitus ignorantur: & ab infidelibus aut idiotis superflua, aut minus apta, quam rei ordo fuerit, scripta esse putantur. Gelasii decretum de Apocryphis scripturis apud Binnium. Concil. T. 2. part. 1. p. 50. Col. 1.

If

If this was the Case so early as near twelve hundred Years ago, more Falsehoods must unquestionably have been inserted in the Acts of Martyrs, that were composed since that Time : For it is confessed on all Hands, that but very few of those Acts, we now have, were so ancient as the Time of *Gelasius* ; and it is very likely, that, to adorn their Narrations, many Writers of Martyrologies, who are generally remote from the Times in which the Things they speak of were transacted, have inserted, in their Acts, many fabulous Stories : And this, indeed, some Legendary Writers ingenuously confess they have done, in order to divert, or, as they also pretend, to edify their Readers, though at the Expence of Truth.

But it is Popery alone that we may thank for forging Acts of imaginary Martyrs, and of the Martyrdom of Men, who, any more than their pretended Sufferings, had never any Being at all. If Dr. (*f*) *Bray's* Collection of Martyrology had been publish'd indeed, we might have there seen a true and faithful Account of Martyrs who have really existed, of the Martyrs Popery has made amongst the *Vaudois*, in *Bohemia*, in *Hungary*, in *Poland*, and where-ever there had been Protestants, or any other that dissented from the Popish Religion. The Facts there would have been well attested, and the Authors, that related them, would have appeared to have lived near the Time of the Things of which they writ ; to have written from unquestionable Monuments, and to have had in all their Works a strict and constant Regard to Truth. Dr. *Bray*, in that Treatise, among other Things, speaks of an History of the (*g*) Persecu-

(*f*) See Dr. *Bray's* Proposals de Martyrologio scribendo. *Histoire critique de la Repub. des Lettres*, vol. 4. p. 191,—224.

(*g*) Vide *ib.* p. 196, & 219.

tions of *Hungary*, which was put into his Hands by a Nobleman of that Country, and which, like that of Bishop *Burnet's*, was grounded upon Records which were to be printed at the End of the Book.

(*b*) *Comenius* has writ a Book of the Persecutions of the Protestants in *Bobemia*, down to the Year 1632 ; as, indeed, from the Time of *Charles* the Fifth, and in that of *Ferdinand* the Second, down to the Time of the late Emperor *Leopold*, the Protestants were ever persecuted not only in *Bobemia* and *Hungary*, but also in *Austria*, and in the other hereditary Countries of the Emperor in *Germany*. *Comenius* had design'd this History of the Persecutions in *Bobemia*, as an Appendix to *Foxe's* Book of Martyrs ; and Dr. *Bray* speaks also of a *Dutch* Martyrology, in which, probably, there is an Account of the Persecutions of the Protestants in the *Low Countries*, in the Time the Duke of *Alva* was Governor of those Provinces. In regard to that memorable Person, we are told by (*i*) *Du Maurier*, that, when he left his Government, he boasted, that in six Years Time, more than eighteen thousand Persons had been put to Death by the Hand of the common Hangman, most of which were Protestants, who suffer'd upon Account of Religion. And yet *Vargas*, one of the Members of the Court of Justice the Duke of *Alva* had appointed, and who was the chief Minister of that cruel Administration, complained, that, by too much Lenity in these Matters, those Provinces would be lost to the King of *Spain*.

The Persecution of Protestants in *Flanders*, indeed, did not end with the Duke of *Alva's* Go-

(*b*) Vide ib. p. 197, & 221.

(*i*) Memoir. du Maurier. p. 58.

vernment; for we are told, among other Things, by (*k*) *Grotius*, in his Annals, that, under the otherwise mild Government of the Archduke *Albert* and *Isabella*, a poor Servant Maid was buried alive upon Account of her Religion, merely for being a Protestant.

No one, I believe, has ever called in Question, or ever will, what Bishop *Burnet* and other late Historians say of the Burnings in the Reign of Queen *Mary*. This (*l*) Bishop tells us, in his Accounts of these, that there was no Trial at all of those who were then condemned for Heresy. The Method of Judicature was very short, Articles were exhibited, to which they were to return an Answer; and, if they answer'd what was called Heresy, they were condemned and executed without any farther Conviction. In those Times, in short, something like an (*m*) Inquisition was set up in *England*, Informers were constantly encouraged, and, what is very surprizing, the (*n*) Commons of that, which indeed was a pack'd, Parliament, were more zealous for reviving the Laws against Hereticks, than even the Bishops themselves.

The (*o*) Bishops, indeed, laid all that was at that Time done against Hereticks, wholly upon the Queen. *Gardiner* and the other Bishops disown'd every Thing relating to it openly in Court; and *Bonner* himself at Length grew slack and remiss, and was weary of Burning, till new Orders were

(*k*) Anna Hovia virgo famulari ministerio vitam tolerans ———
Viva Bruxellæ sub terram defossa est. Grot. Hist. l. 6. p. 404,
405. Ed. Bleu 1658. Vol. dec. sext.

(*l*) See Burnet's Hist. of the Reform. vol. 2. b. 5. p. 308.

(*m*) Vide Burnet ib. p. 312.

(*n*) Ib. p. 296.

(*o*) Id. p. 305, 306.

sent him about it from the King and the Queen : For (p) all Orders and Acts of publick Authority, indeed, at that Time, went in both their Names ; so that these Orders may be said not to contradict what the Bishop tells us, that *Philip* clear'd himself of this Persecution, and made his (q) Confessor to preach against taking away Men's Lives upon Account of Religion.

In these detestable and horrid Butcheries the Gentry were order'd to be present, and to attend the Burning of Hereticks ; and in Letters writ to the Lord *Rich*, Thanks were particularly given by the Council to (r) some Gentlemen that had come to the Burning at *Colchester*.

The Bishop tells us, in his Second Volume, that *Pole* was against this Persecution, and openly gave his Reasons for it ; and that this (s) Cardinal made some pretended Hereticks sign a Paper, which was only in general Terms ; and by that Means they escaped Burning for that Time, tho' they were burnt afterwards upon new Complaints. The Cardinal, I cannot but observe also, was then out of Favour at *Rome*. It appears by (t) *Sleidan*, that he had long been suspected to be a Favourer of the Protestants : And it appears also by (u) *Father Paul*, in his History of the Council of *Trent*,

(p) Ibid. p. 311.

(q) Ib. p. 306.

(r) Ib. p. 313.

(s) Ib. p. 299, 300.

(t) Qui familiariter hominem norunt (Polum) Evangelii doctrinam ei probe cognitam esse dicunt : quod autem in Henricum regem ita scripserit, causam esse putant, ut suspicionem evitaret Lutheranismi. Sleid. Comm. l. 10. sub finem.

(u) Privo anco della Legatione d'Inghilterra, ill cardinale Polo, & lo cito a presentari a Roma nell' inquisitione. Fra. Paolo Hist. del Conc. de Trento L. p. 414. Ed. Gen. 4to. See Burnet ubi supra, p. 352, 353. Ann. 1557.

as well as by Bishop *Burnet*, that *Pole* was suspended unquestionably on this Account, by *Paul* the Fourth, from being a Legate here in *England*, and *Peyro* made a Legate in his Room. However, in the third Volume, which is a Supplement to the two former. This Author seems to (x) contradict what he had said formerly of *Pole's* Mildness towards Hereticks.

Upon the Whole it is very certain, that *Pole* delivered several Protestants to the secular Arm, and that he is called by Archbishop *Parker*, in his *British Antiquities*, *Ecclesie Anglicanae Carnifex & Flagellum*, the Scourge and Butcher of the Church of *England*. But I shall now conclude this Article with that strange Reason, by which the Papists of those Times justified this Persecution of Protestants. They observed, says Bishop *Burnet*, that the (y) Heathens had heretofore violently persecuted Christians; and, if they had that Zeal for their Religion, it surely became Christians to be much more zealous for theirs.

As the *English* are not generally cruel, and good Nature has been thought to be the distinguishing Character of the Nation; that Religion must have Cruelty interwoven in its very Nature, Cruelty must surely have crept into the very Vitals of that Doctrine, which, in such a Nation as this, could light Fire and Fagots to burn Men merely upon Account of their Religion: To burn and butcher Numbers of innocent, quiet, and inoffensive Persons, who never were so much as charged with disturbing the publick Peace, and

(x) *Burnet's Hist.* vol. 3. p. 261, 262.

(y) *Burnet*, vol. 2. p. 306.

whose Dissent from the Church of *Rome* was their only Crime.

One cannot surely but abhor a Religion, that could make such excellent Men as Cardinal *Pole* and Sir *Thomas More*, burn Men alive merely for following the Dictates of their Consciences.

Cardinal *Pole*, it is a most unquestionable Truth, was naturally a most good and worthy Man; he had all the Virtues that could belong to one of his Order, of his Profession, and of his Quality. And the Writings, of all the great Men in *Italy* of his Time, are full of his Praises. (z) *Casa*, in his Life of Cardinal *Bembo*, has given us an Account of *Bembo*, *Contarenius*, and many others, of the same great Character, who had the greatest Esteem and Friendship for *Pole*, and Cardinal (a) *Sadolet* commends his great Parts, his extensive Knowledge and Learning, but, above all, he commends his Humanity and his Politeness; a Politeness that resulted from his Virtue, as well as from his good Breeding. In another Letter, he says, *Pole* was a noble Promoter of Friendship, and took great Pains to make his Friends, Friends to one another; "*Polus quidem noster* (says *Sadolet*, in a Letter to Cardinal *Bembo*, to whom *Pole* had commended *Sadolet*) "*(b) blandus conciliator amicitiarum, voluntatumque conglutinator*;" and yet an accursed Zeal for Popery could make that elegant, that polite, that humane Man, write a

(z) *Casa* in vita *Bembi*, p. 70, 71.

(a) — Cognosce in illo cum summum ingenium, & excellentem in Græcis Latinisque literis scientiam, tum vero summam in moribus & congressu elegantiam atque humanitatem. *Sad. Epist. l. 3. p. 148.*

(b) *Sad. ib. l. 2. p. 79.*

most (c) virulent Book against *Henry* the Eighth, his Relation, his King, and his Benefactor; and afterwards deliver innocent Men to be burnt alive, for no other Reason, but because they were not of his Religion.

There certainly never was a more amiable Character of a Man, than that which *Erasmus* gives of Sir *Thomas More*, in a Letter to *Huttenus*. *More*, says he, was not morose in the (d) Choice of his Friendships; and it was an easy Thing to be admitted to the Number of his Friends. And by his easy and humane Carriage, he ever retain'd the Friendships he had contracted, and in which he was very constant. There was in him a Sweetness of Temper, that influenced his whole Conversation. He was ever so good humour'd, that he would give Joy to Men of the most melancholy Dispositions; and the most melancholy Subjects become agreeable, and even created Mirth, when they were handled by him. With these social, *More* had likewise the domestick Virtues, and excellently performed all relative Duties. He was a kind Husband, even to one that was not a very agreeable Wife: He was a dutiful Son; a tender Father, and a good Master, and no Quarrel, no Difference was ever heard in his Family; and his (e) Fondness for his Relations was never

(c) See an Abstract of that Book apud Sleid. ubi supra. Vide inter alia illud — quomodo rex omnes ordines affligerit, in quantam miseriam florentissimum regnum adduxerit. Sleid. Comm. l. 10. sub finem.

(d) — nequaquam morosus in diligendo, commodissimus in utendo, constantissimus in retinendo, — in convictu tam rara comitas, ac morum suavitas, ut nemo tam tristi sit ingenio quem non exhilaret, &c. *Erasm.* Ep. l. 10. ep. 30. Ed. *London*.

(e) Erga parentes sororesque sic affectus, ut nec amet moleste, nec unquam desit ab officio pietatis — consimili comitate totam familiam moderatur, in qua nulla jurgia, nulla rixa. Id. ib.

fullsome ; tho' he was tender of them in the highest Degree, he never appear'd ridiculously fond of them.

But how terrible, alas ! is it to think, that this friendly, this humane Man ; this Man who had all the social, the domestick, and humane Virtues a Man can have, grew, in the latter Part of his Life, a violent Persecutor of the Protestants.

More, in his *Utopia*, does not at all appear to be superstitious, and Bishop (f) Burnet tells us several (g) bold Passages have been struck out of that Book. He had no Notion of Schoolmen or scholastick Divinity. He had been a bitter Enemy of the Clergy, and complain'd of the Preachers of his Time, that they corrupted the Doctrines of Christianity. And there are in his *Utopia* many indirect Satyrs upon perfidious Popes. He speaks much against Friars and Nuns, and seems to justify irregular Ordinations in Cases of Necessity. Lastly, in the same Book, he lays it down, as a fundamental Maxim of Religion, that no Person ought to suffer any Thing upon Account of his Religion.

But, alas ! notwithstanding all this, this great good Man, this Enemy of Persecution, became afterwards himself a violent Persecutor of those he called Hereticks : And it is particular, that he (b) owns, in a Letter to *Erasmus*, that, in the Epitaph he had made upon himself, he boasted,

(f) See Burnet's Hist. of the Ref. vol. 1. b. 3. p. 162. See Collet's Life by Dr. Night. p. 164. And the Life of Erasmus, p. 62.

(g) Bishop Burnet, vol. 3. b. 1. p. 29, 30.

(b) Quod in epitaphio profiteor, hereticis me fuisse molestum ; hoc, ambitiose feci, nam omnino sic illud genus hominum odi, ut illis, nisi recipiant ; tam invisus esse velim quam cui maxime, &c. Morus inter ep. Erasmi, l. 27. ep. 10.

that he had been troublesome to Hereticks, tho' I find nothing of this in the Epitaph itself, which we have amongst *Erasmus's* Epistles. In the same Letter to *Erasmus*, he says, that he hated the Hereticks, that is, the Protestants; that if they did not repent, that is, if they did not leave what he called their Heresies, he would always desire to be hated by them: And seem'd wonderfully pleased, that the (i) King (*Henry the Eighth*) grew every Day more severe to Hereticks, and, in the Prosecution of them, was more eager than even his Bishops.

With the Letters of Sir *Everard Digby*, which, I think, were published by Bishop *Barlow*, we have some Account of the Life of that Gentleman, or, at least, enough to guess at his Character from. Sir *Everard*, in short, was a young Man of great Virtues, a serious Man, a tender Husband, and a Man that had many social and domestick Virtues. This Gentleman afterwards was, indeed, no Persecutor of the Protestants; for, to be that, he had it not in his Power, when the Protestants had the Laws and the Government on their Side. But for the Promoting and Establishment of Popery, he enter'd into one of the most wicked Conspiracies, that, on this Side Hell, was ever contrived. In these Letters, which are quoted by (k) Archbishop *Tillotson*, he laments the Miscarriage of the Gunpowder Plot, and glories in his having been, not only an Abettor, but a Contriver of that horrid Design. "In how full Joy should I die, says he, if I could do any Thing for the Cause which I love more than my Life;" and glories in the

(i) Rex videtur acrior adversus hereticos quam episcopi ipsi. Id. ib.

(k) See Tillot. Sermons, vol. 2. S. 1. Nov. 5. 1678. p. 23, 24. Edit. 8vo. 1686.

same Letter, in his having been the Contriver of that Design that was to end in the Destruction of King, Royal Family, and Parliament; and which, if it had succeeded, must have involved, in one common Ruin, many even of his own Religion: And it is particularly amazing, with what little Concern he speaks of this last Circumstance; he says, "He did not think there would have been "three worth the Saving, that would have been lost."

It were easy for me, would the intended Bounds of this Treatise permit it, to shew at large, how this persecuting Spirit show'd itself here in *England*, long before the Reformation, upon the pretended Conspiracy of the *Lollards*: Most bloody Laws were then made against the *Wicklefites* and *Lollards*, which (*) *Rapin* tells us, were put in Execution with great Severity. And the same *Rapin*, who tells us of these penal, these cruel, these most Catholick Laws, tells us also, what is very remarkable, that the same House of Commons, by whom these Laws were enacted, did, in a Petition or Address to the King, desire, that the Revenues of the Clergy might be seized.

Thus much, however, it may be proper briefly to observe, that the Church of *Rome*, the infallible Church of *Rome*, as it calls itself; that Church that shuts and opens the Gates of Heaven upon whom she pleases, and can send to Hell, and deliver to Satan, whom she thinks fit: That Church, which allows none to be Christians that are not within the Pale of her Communion, that do not take all her Doctrines upon Trust, or do not implicitly obey her Commands, but any Way dispute her Authority: That Church, which, without indeed the least Grounds, ascribes to herself all these Privileges: The Church of *Rome*, I say,

(*) See *Rapin*, T. 3. ad Ann. 1414. p. 427, 428.

has gone beyond both *Jews* and Heathens, in the monstrous Notion, that to kill Men, for no other Crime but dissenting from her in Matters of Religion, is doing God Service. This Doctrine, the Heads of that Church, who so falsely call themselves the Head of the Catholick and of the whole Christian Church : This Doctrine, the Bishops of *Rome* have put in Practice, either by their own Power, or by spiriting up Princes in their Communion, and have destroy'd, by Fire and Sword, all they could, who did not blindly submit to their usurped Power over the Consciences of Men. This the Popes have done, by various Ways, by procuring, or rather extorting Edicts from Princes against pretended Hereticks ; by crying down, as Hereticks, or Favourers of Hereticks, those Princes who would not come into their Measures of Persecution, with which, if they did not comply, their Crowns were declared to be forfeited, and their Subjects discharged from their Allegiance. That this was the Pretence upon which the holy League of *France* was fomented, or indeed form'd, by the Court of *Rome*, and the Clergy of that Church : That almost that whole Kingdom was drawn into a Rebellion against their King, *Henry* the Third, which ended at last in the Murder of that Prince ; and that the avow'd and only Pretence of that Rebellion was, his refusing to go on with persecuting his Protestant Subjects, is what is unanimously attested, both by the popish and Protestant Historians of *France*. Every one knows the Horrors of the Court of Inquisition, the monstrous Proceedings of which are so contrary to all the Rules that are observed in all the Courts of Justice in the World ; and which yet the Popes have taken such Pains to settle in almost all the Kingdoms and Countries under their Jurisdiction.

Of some of these Ways, indeed, of destroying Men for the Sake of Religion, it must be allow'd that there have formerly been Precedents of a strange Nature in (1) *Egypt*. And of this Kind were also the Laws published by Heathen Emperors against Christians: But the Court of Inquisition is what is not to be parallel'd by these, or indeed in any Age of the World; neither do we find the Heathens assassinating the Christian Emperors upon a Religious Account; even at the Times when Heathenism had been so lately, and for so many Years the prevailing and legal Religion of the Empire; and when the Christian Emperors even endeavour'd to suppress it by Laws and Edicts that were not very agreeable to what, under the Heathen Emperors, Christians had said against Persecution.

But one Method of Persecution there is, the Glory of which is to be reserved wholly to the Church of *Rome*, I mean Massacres, the Destroying whole Cities and Towns in cold Blood, in Times of full Peace, and the Killing of Men that lived peaceably under the Protection of the Laws. Such a glorious Zeal for Religion as this neither the *Jewish* Zealots, or Heathen Persecutors, can make the least Pretension to. And except the *Popish* indeed, none, even of the most persecuting Religions that ever appear'd in the World, ever thought of putting Princes upon the Method of Destroying, upon a Religious Account, whole

(1) Vide de *Ægyptiis* Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 80. Vide etiam illud Juv. .

summus utrinque
Inde furor vulgo, quod Numina vicinorum
Odit uterque locus, cum solos credat habendos
Esse Deos, quos ipse colit.

Juv. Sat. 15. V. 35,—38. Vide ib. V. 33—133.

Multitudes

Multitudes of their own Subjects, and of putting to the Sword Men, Women and Children, without Distinction of Age or Sex.

This Method of proceeding by Massacres was begun very early in the Church of *Rome*. In the Religious War against the *Albigenses*, one of their Cities in *France*, called *Beziers*, was besieged by an Army sent against them by *Philip Augustus* King of *France*, and other Catholick Princes : And the Inhabitants surrender'd upon Terms, which were afterwards so ill observed, that we are told, by that great Prelate *Usher*, that above sixty Thousand of the Inhabitants of that City were put to the Sword ; (m) no Age, and no Sex was spared ; and when the Pope's Legate was told by the Soldiers, that there were in that Town many Catholicks mixed with the Hereticks, and it would be very difficult to know the one from the other ; the Legate and other Chiefs of the Army answer'd, that they were all, without Distinction, to be put to the Sword ; for that some, to save their Lives, might now pretend they were Catholicks, and, when the Army was gone, return to their Heresy. (n) Kill them all, says the Legate, the Lord knoweth those that are his.

But however, this Massacre was perpetrated in a conquer'd City, and against Enemies, though indeed they were so only upon a Religious Account. But the Massacres in *France* were of another Nature : There peaceable Subjects were murder'd in cool Blood, under the Faith of Edicts and Treaties, that secured to them the free and quiet Possession of their Religion.

(m) Vide ex Rob. Altiff. *Usserium de Chris. Ecc. successionē & statu*, c. 10. Num. 26. p. 159.

(n) *Cædite eos ; novit enim Dominus eos qui sunt ejus.* Cæsarius Hist. l. 1. apud Usser. ubi supra.

Long before the Civil Wars, the Protestants were massacred in great Numbers in (o) *Cabrieres* and *Mirandol* in *Provence*, in the Reign of *Francis* the First. This was soon follow'd by the Massacre of (p) *Vassi*, in the Reign of *Charles* the Ninth, committed at the Instigation of the Duke of *Guise*, who was heard to say publickly, that he should rescind with his Sword what he called a detestable Edict that had then been given by the King in Favour of Protestants. This last terrible Massacre was what gave Occasion to the Civil Wars of *France*.

But to pass over former Scenes of Butchery of this Kind, I shall now only mention the famous Massacre of *Paris*, in the Year 1572, at a Time when the Protestants were under the Protection of a new Edict, and a new Treaty ; but which, indeed, as the Papists had before broke so many Edicts and Treaties, the Protestants ought not to have trusted ; there and then happen'd that Massacre, which never was, and, 'tis to be hoped, never will be parallel'd in the History of any other Church or Nation. Almost all the great Men amongst the Protestants were, on this Occasion, drawn into *Paris*, under the Pretence of a Wedding between the King's Sister and the King of *Navarre*, who was afterwards *Henry* the Fourth King of *France*, and who at that Time was at the Head of the Protestant (q) Party : By the deepest Diffimulation, by the most solemn Affeверations, that no Harm

(o) V. ad Annum 1550. Thuan. l. 6. p. 127,—130. Ed. Genev. Dan. Hist. de France, vol. 5. p. 418,—420. Mezeray Abrege, vol. 4. p. 658, 659.

(p) Of this Massacre of *Vassi*, vide Davila, l. 33. p. 86. Ed. Ital. 4to. Thuan. l. 29. Ann. 1562.

(q) See what the King says to the Admiral in Thuanus, l. 52. p. 813. Ed. Gen. See Brantome, ubi infra, p. 5; & 6.

was intended them; the Admiral of *France*, and other Protestant Lords were persuaded to have no Regard to the repeated Advices that were given them by their Friends, that they should not trust themselves with the Court. And when they were thus brought together, the King communicated the Massacre, which he afterwards solemnly ratified and approved. Forty thousand Persons were murder'd in cold Blood in that horrid Butchery, in the City of *Paris*, besides a much greater Number, which in all Parts of the Kingdom were murder'd in the same Manner, and by the same Command of the King. The Weakness and the defenceless Condition of the female Sex was no Protection against the Sword of these furious Zealots, who had also as little Regard to the melting Cries of helpless, innocent (r) Children. The King himself turn'd Executioner in that horrid Act; and we are told by a Gentleman of that Court, and of that Religion, that he saw himself the King, with a Blunderbuss in his Hand, shooting the unhappy Protestants, and making himself merry at the Manner in which those he shot tumbled into the River (s) *Seine*. The Queen-Mother also and her Ladies took a barbarous Pleasure, in beholding the naked Bodies of those that were killed, and equally laid aside that Modesty, as well as that good Nature, which, especially in Persons of that Rank, should ever be the distinguishing Character of that (t) Sex. The Pope that was then sitting, gave a solemn Approbation

(r) See *Memoires de Brantome*, part the 4th, p. 8, 9. in his Account of Charles the Ninth.

(s) *Curiosis oculis nudorum corpora intuebantur.* Thuan. ubi supra, p. 819.

(t) See the Medal *Heugonatorum frages*, struck by Gregory 13. apud Bonanni in nummis, Gregory 13. p. 93.

of that Massacre, which is now to be seen at the Entrance of the Pope's Chappel at *Rome*. And we are told by a great (u) Cardinal and a Minister of *France* at the Court of *Rome*, that the Pope's Legate in *France* being uneasy at the Wedding above mentioned, at the Peace granted to the Protestants, and at the Favour that seemed to be show'd them at Court; as the Legate was complaining to the King of these Things, the King desired him to have a little Patience, for he could not tell him all. And very soon after this the Massacre happen'd; of which the Legate having advised the Pope, the Pope writ back in Answer, That now he found the King had kept his Word with him. This the Cardinal affirm'd, that he was told by Pope *Clement* the Eighth, who at that Time was in *France*, in the Service of that Legate.

This last mentioned Pope was the Pontiff who told the same Cardinal, that *Henry* the Fourth of *France* ought to brehk his Treaties with Queen *Elizabeth*. And when the Cardinal answer'd, That those Treaties had been lately contracted, and sworn to in the most solemn Manner; the Pope reply'd, That not only upon a Religious, but also upon a political Account; not only for the Preservation of Religion, but also for the Safety of their States, it was lawful for Princes, to lie, to swear, and to break the most solemn Treaties.

The *Irish* Massacre is well known to all, who know any Thing of our own late Civil Wars. There no less than an hundred and fifty thousand Persons were at one Time, in all Parts, butcher'd, Men, Women, and Children; with the Approbation, and, probably, at the Instigation of the

(u) Lettres du Cardinal d'Offat.

Pope's Nuncio, then residing amongst the (x) *Irish*. The Papists, at that Time, were no Way disturb'd in their Religion, Liberty, or (y) Property. After the Impeachment of the Earl of *Strafford*, all the Grievances, complain'd of by the *Irish* Commissioners under the Government of that Earl, had been redress'd in the Year 1640, by the then Lords Justices of that Kingdom. In short, all that the *Irish* pretended to justify their Rebellion was, that they were afraid they should, some Time or other, be persecuted in *Ireland*, as they falsely gave out those of their Religion were in *England*. The *Irish* Rebels were animated by the Priests, and the Priests themselves were Actors in that horrid Tragedy. "It would be endless," says a modern Historian, "to recount all the Instances of the wanton Cruelty of these Murderers; and their Actions were still render'd more inhumane, by the (z) Mirth and Sport they made at the unspeakable Torments and Sufferings of the *English* Protestants."

After this short Account of this terrible Butchery, it may not be amiss to mention the Burnings of Protestants in *Scotland*, at the Instigation of the Clergy, especially of Cardinal *Beton*, by whom *James* the Fifth of *Scotland* was entirely governed.

The first Protestant that was burnt there was, (a) *Patrick Hamilton*, a Man of a great Family, who is said to have first brought into *Scotland* the Doctrine of the Protestants. He was a young Man of great Parts and great Learning; *Juvenis*

(x) See Cox's History of Ireland, p. 72.

(y) See Sir John Temple's History of the Irish Rebellion, p. 12, 13.

(z) See Sir John Temple ibidem, p. 63.

(a) Vide Buchanan, l. 14. p. 510. Edit. Francoft.

ingenio summo, & eruditione singulari, says *Buchanan*; and this Man the Clergy got to be burnt at St. *Andrews*.

(b) Several Protestants were again burnt in *Scotland*, in the Year 1534, and five more in the Year 1539, and several banish'd, amongst whom was *Buchanan* himself, who, as he tells us, narrowly escaped Death, by his Keepers being asleep, *sopitis custodibus*. A (c) *French* Author tells, what I cannot find in *Buchanan*, that a poor Woman, that was just delivered, was put to Death, with her Child, because, when in Labour, she would not call upon the *Virgin Mary*. And the same Author tells us, that, at the same Time, under the Regency of the Earl of *Arran*, who suffer'd himself to be too much influenced by the Cardinal, four Men were burnt, for eating Flesh on a *Friday*.

The Account (d) *Buchanan* gives of the Sufferings of one *George Sephocard*, is most remarkable. This *Sephocard*, having preach'd the Gospel in the House of a Gentleman, whose Name was *John Cockburn*, in the Neighbourhood of *Edinburgh*, was seized by Order of the Cardinal, and that against an absolute Promise made to the Earl of *Brothel*, who had engaged (*sive interposita*) for the Safety of *Sephocard*; and, in fine, even against the Consent of the Regent, the Earl of *Arran*, this Man was burnt alive, and the Cardinal would see himself this terrible Execution from the Walls of the Cittadel: And it is an Incident worthy Remark, that some Time after the Cardinal himself was murder'd, and his Body was thrown over the Walls of the Cittadel, in the very same Place

(b) Id. ib.

(c) See *Jurieu Apol. pour la Reform.* vol. 2. p. 63. c. 2.

(d) Vide *Buch.* l. 15. p. 551, —558.

where, with so much Pleasure, he had look'd on the Burning of *Sephocard*. The Account of this Transaction is one of the most beautiful Passages in *Buchanan's* History. The Cruelty of the Priests, the Insolence of the Cardinal, their Thirst for the Blood of an innocent Man, whose Condemnation and Execution was against all Form of Law, hurried with the greatest Precipitation, as if the Welfare of the State had depended upon it, is all set forth by *Buchanan* in most beautiful Colours. There are also not less Beauties in his Account of the (e) Murder of the Cardinal, whose Death had been foretold by *Sephocard*, and whose Body was exposed to the publick View in the same Place, where he had thought fit to be a Spectator of the the Sufferings of this Protestant Martyr: And the Speech *Buchanan* puts into the Mouth of the Conspirators against *Beton*, sets forth also, in a very lively Manner, the Evils and Miseries *Scotland* suffer'd under the Insolence and Tyranny of that arrogant Priest and cruel Cardinal: *Sub arrogan-
tissimo Sacrificio, eodemque tyranno sævissimo.*

Having mentioned these several Instances of the Horrors of popish Persecutions, I shall now add some further Observations, to confirm what I have said of the Manner in which the Spirit of Persecution exerted itself in *France*; and shall show, that in that polite, civilized and learned Nation, Popery very early shew'd itself in all its Colours. The Inquisitions of *Spain* and *Italy* proceed by Rules that are quite contrary to those, by which the Proceedings of all other Courts of Justice in the World are govern'd; and, by their very Constitution, they must of Necessity shed a great deal of innocent Blood. But, even there, we do not

(e) Id. ib. p. 557.

hear of general Massacres, of whole Towns and Villages being put to the Sword; of national Massacres, of murdering in cold Blood, Men, Women, and Children, in all Parts of a great Kingdom. This we hear of only in *France*, which most cruel and merciless Nation set the *Irish* that Pattern of Massacres, which, in the next Century, they most closely follow'd. *Francis* the First, and *Henry* the Second his Son, who, in other Respects, were good natur'd and humane Princes, set up in *France* the Standard of Persecution against the *Lutherans*; six of whom were there burnt alive with a (f) slow Fire, (*lento igne*) as we are expressly told by the Jesuit *Daniel*, and other Historians; and this bigotted Jesuit commends that Punishment as an Act of Piety in that King.

Another *French* Historian, however, (g) Mr. *Le Gendre*, endeavours to palliate the Horror of that terrible Execution, which, he says, the *Lutherans* brought upon themselves. The King having been dissuaded by Cardinal *Tournon* from bringing over *Melancthon* into *France*, which his Sister the Queen of *Navarre* had persuaded him to do, *Le Gendre* pretends, that the *Lutherans* were so incensed at this Disappointment, as to spread Libels against the King, which were found at his Table, and in his very Bed.

But however that be, this Burning of the *Lutherans* happen'd at a Time when *Francis* the First was in strict Alliance with the *Lutheran* Princes of *Germany* against *Charles* the Fifth. And the (h) Jesuit *Daniel* tells us further, that these *Lutheran*

(f) See *Daniel*. Hist. de France, Tom. 4. p. 333. Ed. Amst. 4to. 1720.

(g) See *Le Gendre* Hist. de France, T. 4. p. 312. Ed. D'odec.

(h) See *Daniel* ubi supra, p. 322. 323.

Princes were so irritated at this Cruelty practised against their Brethren, as also at the Alliance of that most Christian King with the *Turks*, that the *French* Ambassador *Langeay*, at that Time, hardly durst appear Abroad in *Germany*.

The same Father *Daniel* also, who, had he not been a Jesuit, would have been an excellent Historian; and, before him, (i) *Maimbourg*, another of the same Order, have endeavour'd also to justify the Massacre of the *Vandois* at *Cabrieres* and *Merindol*. In this Massacre, however, even as they describe it themselves, the most horrid Cruelties were committed by the Soldiers, who, by an Edict of the Parliament of *Provence*, given against these poor People, were appointed to be their Executioners. Let any unprejudiced and impartial Person read the Account given by those two Jesuits of that Massacre, and then say, what must be the Spirit of that Religion, or what Sort of Religious Order that must be, that justifies and defends the chief Actors in those horrid Butcheries; in those which, by their own Confession, are unparallel'd Barbarities; and this against People, who were unprepared to resist, and all upon mere Suspicion, upon the most groundless Suggestion, that they had (k) design'd to seize the Town of *Marseilles* by Surprise. I shall not quote what (l) *Sleiden* says of this horrid Massacre, because he is a Protestant Writer, but shall refer my Reader to (m) *Thuanus* and *Mezeray*, who, though *Roman* Catholics, speak of this horrid Act as it deserves,

(i) *Maimb. Hist. de Calvinism. p. 79,—93. l. 2. 1545. See Daniel ubi supra. p. 418,—420.*

(k) *Vide Daniel ubi supra.*

(l) *See Sleid. l. 16. fol. 215,—252. Edit. Conradi Badii, 1559. ad Annum 1545.*

(m) *Vide Thuan. Ed. Franc. l. 6. p. 288. Metz. Abr. Chron. Tom. 4. p. 632, 633. Ed. 1682. Duod.*

and tell us, how the chief Actors in it, the President *D'Oppede*, and the Count *De Grignan*, Governor of *Provence*, who were tried for it by the Parliament of *Paris*, were most unjustly and most partially acquitted.

All Historians agree, that *Francis* the First had such Remorses for this Massacre, that he order'd his Son *Henry* the Second, to prosecute, with the utmost Rigour, all those who had any Hand in it. But as I said before, by the Intrigues and Power of their Friends, they were all acquitted; one, indeed, I should except, and this was the Solicitor-General *Guerin*; upon whom it was proved, beyond all Possibility of denying, that when the Soldiers would have spared a young Country Fellow, that endeavour'd to make his Escape, he cried out, *Tolle, crucifige*, and order'd him to be shot.

(*n*) *Maimbourg* tells us, that by an exact Calculation that was then made, three thousand Persons, without Distinction of Age or Sex, suffer'd in this bloody Massacre, Men, Women and Children, were destroy'd by the Sword. Six hundred only of the Men were saved, in order to be sent to the Gallies, and there were nine hundred Houses burnt in four and twenty Villages that were then plunder'd by the Soldiers.

Henry the Second, Son to *Francis* the First, was a fine Gentleman rather than a great King. He also was a fierce Persecutor of Protestants; and, like most other Persecutors, he was himself a Man of a most (*o*) dissolute Life, and at the (*p*) Head of

(*n*) *Maimb. ubi supra*, p. 89.

(*o*) *Pellicem uxori superinductam — inde prodigientiam ac luxuriam exortam, &c.* Thuan. l. 22. in finem. p. 1020. ad Annum 1529.

(*p*) — la dissolution de sa Cour, autorisé par son exemple. *Mez. Tom. 4. p. 722, 723. Vide Daniel. Hist. &c. Tom. 4. p. 626.*

a most dissolute Court. This is agreed by all Historians, even by *Daniel* as well as by *Tbuanus* and *Mezeray*. This Jesuit, however, observes, that, notwithstanding his profligate Life, that King had Piety in the Main, and the great Proof he gives of that (*q*) Piety, is his several Edicts against Protestants.

The Dutches of *Valentinois*, with whom *Henry* lived in open and avow'd Adultery, she also had this Sort of Piety: For, by her Interest with the King, she was the great Promoter of that Persecution, and for this Reason, that she got to herself the forfeited Estates of those who suffer'd for Heresy. We have, in the Works of *Jobannis Casa*, (*r*) several Letters writ by him, in the Name of Cardinal *Caraffa*, Nephew to Pope *Paul* the Fourth: In which the Cardinal, in the Name of his Unkle, recommends the Interest of the Holy See to this virtuous Lady, and by him the Pope sends his Apostolical Benediction, to a Woman, who notoriously lived in open and avow'd Adultery with a married King.

How the Civil Wars of *France* began, the Foundations of which were laid in that Reign; how, in the Time of *Francis* the Second, the *Guises* invaded, or rather usurped the Supreme Power by the Help of their Niece, Queen *Mary* of *Scots*, Wife to *Francis*, we are told by all the Historians of those Times. (*s*) *Bayle* says, this In-

(*q*) *Dan. ib.*

(*r*) *Vide Opere de Casa, Tom. 2. Lettere di credenza, p. 7, 11, 12. Vide illud — la supplico, che le piaccia aiutare appresso S. M. Christianiss. con la sua molta autorità, nella quale sua beatitudine e tutti noi confidiamo infinitamente. Ib. p. 11. Ed. Flor. 1707.*

(*s*) See *Dict. de Bayle* in the Article of *Francis Duke of Guise* in the Text.

vasion of Power was a true Usurpation, since, in the Time of a weak and very young Prince, such as then was *Francis* the Second, the Kingdom might well be supposed to be under a Sort of Minority, and in that Case, according to the Laws of *France*, the Administration was to devolve upon the Princes of the Blood. This occasioned the Civil Wars of *France*, in which, 'tis very likely, the great Men of both Sides disguised their Ambition, under the Cloak of Religion. The *Guises*, or, otherwise, the Princes of *Lorraine*, put themselves at the Head of the Catholick Party, as the Protestants were headed by the Princes of *Bourbon*, the King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Conde*; and, under them, by the famous *Coligni*, Admiral of *France*, whom all Writers, even those of the other Side, own to have been a true Patriot, and to have been sincere in the Religion he profess'd. All the *French* Historians, and with them (t) Father *Paul*, tell us, that those great Catholics, the Duke of *Guise* and Cardinal *de Lorraine* his Brother, told the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, that their Design was only to extirpate *Calvinism*, a Sect equally abhor'd by Lutherans and Catholics, and that then, by gentle Means, they would endeavour to reconcile the Lutherans to the Holy See, or, indeed, as (u) Father *Daniel* speaks, to get the Confession of *Augsburg* to be received in *France*. *Brantome*, whom I shall hereafter have often Occasion to quote, says, that he (v) himself heard

(t) Vide *Paolo Hist. &c.* 1. 6. p. 491.—*Bayle Dict.* under the Word *Guise*, Note (d),

(u) See *Daniel*, ib. p. 126.—Vide *Thuan.* Tom. 2. l. 29, p. 72, 73.—*Mez.* p. 51, 52.—See what Bishop *Jewel* writes to Bullinger apud *Burnet Hist. of the Reformation*, vol. 3. Collect. Num. 72.

(v) Vide *Brantome Mem.* Tom. 4. p. 34, 35. And in the *Life of Francis Duke of Guise Mem.* Tom. 3. p. 134.

the Cardinal speak very favourably of that Confession; and, in his own Diocese of *Rheims*, of which he was Archbishop, he preach'd agreeably to it before his Mother, who was thought to be a Favourer of Protestants.

Be that, however, as it will, the Princes of the Blood, it is certain, being exasperated by this ill Usage of the *Guises*, did, if not contrive, at least encourage the famous Conspiracy of *Amboise*, which was, in Truth, only against the *Guises*, and not against the King, as appears not only from (w) *Thuanus*, but from (x) *Davila* himself.

This, however, was not properly an Affair of Religion. It was discover'd by one *Desfauvonnells*, who was a Protestant, and continued so to his Death; and it is most certain, that many Catholics were engaged in that Conspiracy. *Le Gendre*, who seems to be an impartial Historian, says, there was too much Blood shed, (y) and much Killing, (*Beaucoup de Tuerie*) upon Account of this Conspiracy; and that *Oliver*, Chancellor of *France*, died of Sorrow to see so much Cruelty. The (z) Prince of *Conde* was condemned to loose his Head upon a Scaffold, as an Accomplice of this pretended Conspiracy: And his Brother, the King of *Navarre*, would have had the same Fate, if he could have been taken. Nothing, in short, saved these two Princes, but the Death of *Francis* the Second, the *Guises* having then, in a great Mea-

(w) Vide *Thuan.* vol. 1. l. 24. p. 1100, —1112. And from him *Mezeray Abbr.* T. 5. p. 17, —23.

(x) See *Davila*, l. 1. p. 37. Ed. Venet. 1630. 4to. Vide *Thuan.* l. 25. p. 113, 114.

(y) See *Le Gendre*, vol. 4. p. 389. Vide *Davila*, l. 1. p. 40.

(z) See *Daniel* ib. p. 686, —700. *Davila*, l. 2. p. 58, 59.

sure, lost their Power, and being afraid to strike so bold a Stroke in the Beginning of a Minority.

I do not propose here to write the History of the Civil Wars of *France*; I shall therefore only just mention the famous Interview of (a) *Bayonne*, where, under the Pretence of paying a Visit to the Queen of *Spain* her Daughter, *Catherine de Medicis* Queen-Mother of *France*, met the Duke of *Alva*. There a strict League was concluded between the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain*, the chief Design of which was the Destruction of Protestants, which the Duke proposed to the *French* Court: And there it was the Duke proposed those violent Methods he afterwards made use of in the Low Countries. But these, (b) *Davila* says, the Queen did not at all like; and the same Historian tells us, that though the King, *Charles* the Ninth, was then very young, yet neither he, nor the Queen his Mother, liked that the King of *Spain* and his Ministers should (c) prescribe to them the Methods they must follow, in the Extirpation of their protestant Subjects. The Duke of *Guise*, however, and other zealous, bigotted Catholicks of *France*, went much beyond that Duke in what they did against the Protestants. The Duke of *Alva*, during his six Years Government, as has already been observed, made most terrible Executions of Persons of all Ranks and Conditions; but yet, at least, the Formalities of Law were still preserved in the Tryals of those who suffer'd. They were condemned by Courts of Justice, and though the Proceedings of those Courts were not agreeable to the Constitution, or

(a) See of this Interview of *Bayonne*, *Daniel* *ibid.* p. 832,—841. — *Le Gendre*, T. 4. p. 430.

(b) *Davila* *ib.* p. 145, 146.

(c) *Davila* *ib.* p. 140.

the Privileges of those Provinces; yet these Courts were called and looked like Courts of Justice: Men were not there murder'd by Wholesale, by Thousands; and I must acknowledge, that I do not remember to have read of any absolute Massacres in the Low Countries, during the whole Administration of that Duke.

But it was not so in *France*; there, notwithstanding that several Laws and several Edicts had been made in Favour of the Protestants, the *Guises* and their Faction had no Sort of Regard to them, and declared, they did not think themselves to be at all bound by them.

The first Edict that was made in *France*, in Favour of the Protestants of that Kingdom, was the Edict of *January* 1562. At the Favour shew'd to the Protestants by that Edict, the whole popish Faction was enraged; and the Duke of *Guise*, particularly, in Defiance of all Authority, of all Laws, drew his Sword, as I observed before, and said, (*d*) that Sword should rescind and cancel that detestable Edict, however it might be thought that it was not to be dissolved. The Soldiers, having heard these Words, immediately insulted the Protestants, who were then singing of Psalms, and disturbed them in their Religious Exercises, which was a downright Breach of the Edict. A Tumult arose immediately on this, which ended in what was called, the Massacre of *Vassy*. And, however, (*e*) *Maimbourg* has endeavour'd to palliate this Affair, and to reflect upon *Beza's* pretended Insolence, in demanding of the Queen Satisfaction for

(*d*) — Messia la Mano fu la Spada, replicò pieno di colera, che l'editto così strettamente legato, presto si troncarebbe con il filo di quella— Davila, l. 3. p. 86. — Vide Daniel supra, p. 731, 732.

(*e*) See Maimb. Hist. du Calv. l. 4. p. 257, 259.

that Massacre with which he charged the Duke of *Guise*; yet much greater Men than *Beza* joined with him in that Request. The Prince of *Conde*, the Admiral, and that truly great Man, that Man of true Moderation, that Abhorrer of Civil Wars, *Hopital* Chancellor of *France* (*f*), went to the King and Queen, and demanded, that the Authors and Abettors of this Massacre should be punished. This Duke afterwards, in his Death-Bed, did, in his Confession to his Priest, as (*g*) *Brantome* tells us, own he had a Hand in this Massacre: But added, that he did not desire Forgiveness at God's Hand, if he designed any such Thing before-hand, and seemed to make the whole Affair of very little Consequence: Those seditious Words of the Duke's, however, are not denied. They are attested by *Davila*, who lived near those Times, and, from him, are faithfully transcribed by the Jesuit *Daniel* in his History; and therefore, whatever that Tumult and Bloodshed was, it must be charged upon the Duke.

This Massacre occasioned the first Civil War in that Reign: This was follow'd by a Treaty that was soon broke however, and the War began again a second Time; and this was follow'd by what was called, (*b*) *la petite Paix*, the short Peace, during which, and before the third Civil War, more than 2000 Protestants were murder'd in popular Tumults and in Pursuance of secret Orders from the Court. Indeed, constantly, no sooner what they called an Edict of Pacification was granted to the the Protestants, but the (*i*) Emissaries of *Spain* and of the *Guises* declared, they would not acquiesce in

(*f*) *Daniel* ubi supra, p. 732.

(*g*) See *Brant. Mem.* Tom. 3. p. 88.

(*b*) See *Le Gendre*, vol. 4. p. 436.

(*i*) See *Daniel* ubi supra, p. 836.

these Edicts, and threaten'd to rise, if these Laws, in Favour of the Protestants, were not immediately repeal'd.

I have already once mentioned the Massacre of *Paris*, in the Year 1572; but it is so copious a Subject, that, in speaking of it, one does not know where to begin, or where to end. In this horrid Scene of Cruelty, the most profound Dissimulation was used to deceive the Protestants. The *French* Court went so far, as to make Treaties with Foreign Nations that were never designed to be kept. A Design was pretended to make War with *Spain*, not only to prevent the growing Greatness of that Monarchy, but also, because that King meddled too much with the Affairs, and even the Government of *France*. And accordingly Succours were promised and sent to Count *Lodwick*, Brother to the Prince of *Orange*, who then commanded the *Dutch* Forces. The Ambassadors of the protestant Princes of *Germany* obtain'd every Thing they demanded; nay, (*k*) *Davila* tells us, the King went so far, as to promise them the Removal of the *Guises*, or, at least, they should have no more Share in the Administration than he should be pleased to give them.

The Admiral was in vain advised not to trust the King in a Sort of Pamphlet, *libello*, as *Thuanus* calls it, that was put into his Hands. On which the Admiral said, He could not think that King to be guilty of so much Perfidiousness, whom he thought to be one of the best Kings *France* ever had: That by the King's Command he was reconciled (*l*) to the *Guises*, and it was promised on

(*k*) Vide *Davila*, l. 5. p. 252. ad Annum 1571.

(*l*) — Se rege auctore cum *Guisianis* reconciliatum esse — omnia summa regem facere, ut pacem domi, bellum foris habeat, atque adeo in *Belgium* & contra *Hispanos* transferat, &c. *Thuan.* vol. 2. l. 52. p. 1037. ad Annum 1572.

both Sides to the King they would never hereafter give one another any Disturbance, nor remember any Thing that was past : That the King had proposed to send Troops to the Count *Lodoick*, to supply the Loss of those that had been defeated by the Duke of *Alva*, under the Command of *Genlis*; and that the King's whole Desire was, to have Peace at Home, and War Abroad, which he was resolved to carry into *Flanders* against the King of *Spain*. In one Word, now the Peace was made, there was a Sort of Amnesty agreed on on both Sides, and all that was past was for ever to be forgot. To which the Admiral added, that he had rather be (m) dragg'd by the Feet through the Streets of *Paris*, than begin a new Civil War. *Thuanus* goes on and tells us, how it was proposed to the (*) Queen to take off, with the Admiral, the Family of *Momorency* that were his Cousin Germans, and with them to take off the *Guises* also, that, almost all the Heads of the Nobility being destroy'd, the King and Queen might meet with no farther Disturbance in their Administration.

The *Momorencys* and the *Guises*, it is well known, were too equally powerful Factions, and were equally troublesome to the Crown, being at the Head of two great Parties, which, by Turns, encroach'd upon the Royal Power. This being all urged with specious Shews of Reason, before the King and Queen, it was resolved to consent to the Massacre. (n) *Voltaire* certainly had not read *Thu-*

(m) — Sibi certum esse facta semel pace & inducta præteritorum memoria regis fidem sequi, & malle unco per Lutetiae vias trahi, quam iterum ad arma civilia decurrere. *Thuan.* l. 52. p. 1035.

(*) *Thuan.* ib. l. 52. p. 1040, 1041.

(n) See *Voltaire's* Essay, p. 13.

anus, when he says, that the Queen fear'd no other but *Jeanne d'Albret* Queen of *Navarre*, *Coligni*, and the Protestants, and thought one Blow could destroy them all, and fix their own Power for ever. She found herself mistaken, and lived to see, that the Duke of *Guise* and the zealous Catholics were more dangerous Enemies to her beloved Son *Henry* the Third, than ever *Coligni*, or the Protestants he headed, had been to her two others, *Francis* the Second and *Charles* the Ninth.

It is not my Business to transcribe here the dreadful Accounts of this Massacre, given us by *Thuanus* and *Davila*, who have set forth the Horrors of it in a Style suitable to such an Occasion, and with an Energy and Strength, and a true historical Eloquence worthy of those two great Historians. It may not be improper, however, to mention, out of *Thuanus*, the noble and truly Christian Behaviour of *Coligni*, after his first Wound, which was intended to have been his Destruction; but not proving mortal, he was afterwards assassinated in the Manner the Historians relate. All he said was to ask, Whether this was that fine Reconciliation, (o) *Bella Reconciliatio cuius Rex sponsor extitit*, for which the King had passed his Word; and then, turning to the Preacher of the late Queen of *Navarre*, (who died also just about that Time, as is supposed, by Poison) he said to him, (p) My Brother, now I find God loves me, since it is for his holy Name I have received these Wounds: God grant that I may never forget his accusom'd Mercys to me. When some-

(o) Vide Thuan. I. 52. p. 1043.

(p) Hem, mi Frater, nunc sentio me a Deo diligere, quando propter sanctissimum ipsius nomen has plagas acceperim: faxit Deus ipse, ne usitatae suae erga me clementiae unquam obliviscar. Thuan. ib. p. 1043.

time after this, however, it was found that the Admiral was likely to recover, it was soon resolved to do the Business effectually; and a Murderer was immediately hired to kill him. The young Duke of *Guise*, as (q) *Voltaire* tells us from Historians of much greater Authority, was, at the Time of this inhumane Action, at the Door of *Coligni's* House waiting till the Murder was over. And as soon as he received the News that it was so, he went up to the Room where the Admiral lay, and cried aloud, *Bene*, is it done? The Doors on this flew open, and the Duke went into the Room; *Coligni* expired at his Feet, and the Duke trampled upon the dead Body. The Massacre follow'd upon this, in the Manner it is described by Authors. (r) Men, Women, and Children were promiscuously slaughter'd, every Street was strow'd with expiring Bodies; and Priests, holding up a Crucifix in one Hand, and a Sword in the other, ran at the Head of the Murderers, and exhorted them, in the Name of God, to spare neither Relations nor Friends. Several (s) of the Servants of *Margaret* Queen of *Navarre*, the King's Sister, were killed in her Apartments, where they had fled for Refuge. Some of them even fell at her Feet; and she tells us herself, how she was cover'd with their Blood.

Voltaire tells us a very particular Story of the young Count of *la Rochefoucault*, who was Grandfather to the late Marquis of *Montandre*, whom many of us have seen in *London*. This Count was a Favourite of the King's, with whom he had

(q) See Volt. ib. p. 13, 14.—Vide Thuanum ib. p. 152, 153. Vide ib. p. 151, 152.

(r) Volt. ib. p. 14, 15.

(s) See Memoires de la Reine Marguerite, p. 76,—78.

spent the Evening; and the King, who had a great Mind to save him, would have persuaded him to lie in his Chamber: But ignorant of the Cause, the Count excused it, and said he must go Home to his Wife; which he did, and was there murder'd in the Manner *Voltaire* tells us from (t) *Brantome*, whom he should have quoted. (u) *Queen Margaret* tells us much the same Story also in her Memoirs, and adds, that the King also much desired, but in vain, to save another favourite Friend, which was *Teling*, who had married the Admiral's Daughter, who was afterwards married to *William* the First Prince of *Orange*, and was Great Grand-mother to our late King *William*.

But notwithstanding this Tenderness to some particular Persons, the King himself, as I have observed before, was an Actor in this dreadful Tragedy; and, even so far as he could be so, was inhumane to the Dead. *Voltaire* tells us from *Brantome*, that the Parliament of *Paris* having been order'd to proceed against *Coligni*, his dead Body was hanged in Chains at the Gallows of *Montfaucon*; and that the King himself with Pleasure went to see it; this very King, who, as *Queen Margaret* his Sister tells us, when the Admiral was wounded, pretended to be very angry, and swore he would revenge that Death upon the Duke of *Guise*. But now the Mask was pull'd off, and the perfidious and inhumane King carried his Rage against the Admiral beyond all Bounds of Decency and Humanity. As the Body, when the King went to view it, began to smell strong, and those that were with the King

(t) *Brantome* Mem. T. 4. p. 9, 10.

(u) *Mem. de la Reine Marguir.* p. 75.

stop'd their Noses, he reproved them, and said, as *Brantome* tells us, I shall not stop my Nose as you do, for (v) the Smell of one's Enemy's dead Body is as agreeable as his Words were detestable.

It is also from *Brantome* that the same *Voltaire* tells us, which I before have hinted at, and which is almost an incredible Story of the King, but of which the first of these Authors was probably an Eye-witness. That as some Protestants, to save themselves, were swimming over the River *Scine* to the *Faubourg St. Germain*, the King saw them from his Window, and fired upon them with a Carbine, or, as *Brantome* calls it, an hunting Blunderbus; and when that Blunderbus did but little Execution, because of the great Distance, *Brantome* adds farther, that the King cried out to the Soldiers, (w) *Tuez, tuez*, and would not suffer one of them to escape, except alone his own first Surgeon (x) *Ambrosius Paræus*, who had been the Admiral's Surgeon; and of whom the King said, he would not suffer a Man to be murder'd, that could be useful to almost a whole World. And the same *Brantome* tells us, that it was with great Pleasure the King afterwards saw 4000 Bodies of those who had been drowned or killed, (y) pass under his Window.

I am very sensible that it is said by (z) Father *Daniel*, that, without the King's Consent or Knowledge, the Queen order'd *Monrevel* to assassinate the Admiral; and that upon that Assassination,

(v) — l'odeur de son ennemy est tres-bonne & la parole aussi mauvaise. Brant. Mem. T. 4. p. 11.

(w) Voltaire ib. p. 8. Brant. ib. p. 8.

(x) Brant. ib. p. 8, 9.

(y) See Brant. ib. p. 11, 12.

(z) Daniel ubi supra, p. 975.—979.

the Protestants threaten'd the Court, and that it was these Threatnings of theirs, that occasioned the Massacre, and in a Manner forced the Court, for their own Safety, to enter into these bloody Measures. But these are only poor and utterly false Excuses, and I have already given an Account, from Cardinal *d'Offat*, of the Conversation between the King and the Pope's Legate Cardinal *Alessandrino*, which shews plainly, and beyond all Possibility of Doubt or Denial, that the Massacre was a premeditated Affair. And the same Story is told by (a) *Thuanus*, who very probably had it from Cardinal *d'Offat*, who was his Friend and Cotemporary, though he quotes *Hieronymus Gattena*, a Writer of the Life of *Pius* the Fifth.

That Pope, however, did not live to see the Massacre, for he died, according to *Thuanus*, on the first of *May* before. But this Piece of History I cannot any Way reconcile either with *d'Offat's* Story, or with *Brantome*, who expressly says, that (b) though this Pope rejoiced in Publick when the News came of this horrid Act, yet in private he shew'd his Dislike of it, and even wept when he spoke of it to *Brantome* himself, and other *French* Gentlemen who were then at *Rome*.

Let that be as it will, however, the *Spanish* and *Italian* Authors, who are of a very different Turn of Thinking, will not part so with the Honour of this Massacre. Assassination and Murder are so common in both those Countries; they are so often committed there out of Revenge, even for the smallest Affront, that those, who often cut one another's Throats for a Mistress, cannot but justify Murder, when it is committed upon a

(a) Vide Thuan. l. 51. p. 1013.

(b) See Brant. in the Life of the Admiral, p. 170, 171.

Religious Account, and, as they will call it, for the Honour and Safety of their holy Mother the Church. Accordingly they all agree, and strenuously insist upon it, that this Massacre was premeditated, and was the Result of a long Deliberation. As they highly commend the Act itself, so they no less extol the King's Prudence in it, by which, with the Help of his Dissembling, and by fair Promises, he found Means to catch *Coligni*, and almost all the Protestants of *France*, in the Net he had laid for them. This, indeed, (c) *Thuanus* says only of these Writers; but *Davila*, who openly acknowledges that he abhors the (d) Fact, yet owns also very frankly, that the Massacre was a Design deeply laid, and had been long consider'd before it was put in Execution.

An *Italian* Writer also, whose Name was (e) *Camillo Capilupio*, wrote a little *Italian* Book, called *Il Stratagema*, the Stratagem, printed at *Rome* the very Year of the Massacre. And in this Book the Author takes great Pains to prove the Massacre was not accidental, as some would fain have pretended, and almost gives the Lie to the Court of *France*, for saying it was not a premeditated Design. *Bayle* gives a fair Account of this Book; and (f) *Thuanus* a larger and more particular one; in which he takes great Pains to shew the Blunders of that

(c) — Itali scriptores — quod postea secutum est, tanquam bonum factum, dum miris laudibus efferunt, & astu eum solerti magnanimi principes ingenio dignissimum deprædicant, jam ante regem de illo cogitasse volunt. *Thuan. ib. p. 1013.*

(d) See *Davila*, l. 5. p. 252.

(e) See *Bayle's Dict. Tom. 1. in the Article of Camillo Capilupio in the Text.*

(f) Vide *Thuan. l. 33. p. 1080, 1081.* See out of one *Father Bouffiers*, A—hb—p *Wake's Sermons*, vol. 3. S. 3. p. 75. in the Notes.

Author, and his Ignorance of the *French* History, and of the Constitution of that Kingdom.

But however that be, in this Author's Account of the Massacre, there is an Account of such a Train of Lies, and such a Scene of Perfidiousness laid by the King and his Mother, as would fix an indelible Mark of Infamy upon the Characters of Persons, not only of that high Rank, but in any, even the lowest Station.

Herrera, a *Spanish* Historian, is also as much pleased with this Massacre as *Capilupo* was, and is as proud to acknowledge it a concerted Thing: But as I said before, we must do that Justice to *Davila* to own, that though he says it was premeditated, it is a Confession that is extorted from him by the Force of Truth; and it is with the greatest Reluctance he owns this, as it is with the greatest Abhorrence and Detestation that he speaks of the Action itself.

Though by *Herrera's* own Account, this was a most (g) horrid Act; yet he says, and (b) proves it by many Circumstances, which it would be too long to relate here, that it must not be said, the Court was obliged by the Necessity of their Affairs to come on a sudden to this bloody Resolution. On the contrary, he positively affirms, that it was a Thing long thought of, and that had been long contriving: And this he absolutely proves from a Number of undeniable Instances, from the Assembling of Troops about *Bordeaux* for the Seizure of *Rochelle*, the Reconciliation of the Admiral and Duke of *Guise*, the Marriage of the Prince of *Bearn*, afterwards King of *Navarre*,

(g) — y con esta ocasion se hizieron muchas cosas feas. See *Herrera* b. 2. c. 9. p. 70. col. 2.

(b) See *Herrera* ib. c. 10. p. 71.

and the Alliance with *England* to please the Admiral. All these Things, says *Herrera*, show, that this End was of a long Time intended; and all these specious publick Shews of Reconciliation had no other End, nor were enter'd on with any other View, but as they were the proper Means to bring about this horrible Catastrophe.

To this it may be added, that it is certain that, after great and long Debates in Council, mentioned by *Thuanus*, the King was finally advised to take it upon himself as a Thing which he had long design'd.

This was done by the (i) Advice of the *Guises*, upon whom, at first, the King would have thrown the *Odium* of the Fact, and who by this Means threw it back again upon him. For in Consequence of this Advice, the King, in full Parliament at *Paris*, (k) in *Justiciæ lectisternio sedens, omnibus curiæ classibus vocatis*, sitting in his Place of Justice, and all the Chambers being assembled, told them, in a concerted Speech, how the Peace of the Kingdom had been long disturbed by the Protestants, and in particular by the Admiral, during his whole Reign, and declared, that all that had been done to them, all that they had suffer'd was by his Command. And on this the first President of the Parliament of *Paris*, *Christophorus Thuanus*, Father to the Historian of that Name, at the Head of the Parliament, perhaps as he was the Mouth, the Speaker of that great Assembly, was (l) obliged to declare his Approbation of the Fact. Accordingly, in the Name of the whole Parliament, he thank'd the King for what himself detested during his whole Life, and

(i) Vide *Thuan. ib. l. 52. p. 1063, 1065.*

(k) *Thuan. ib. p. 1064.*

(l) *Thuan. ib. p. 1065, 1066.*

to which he applied those celebrated Verses of *Statius*.

Excidat illa dies ævo.

This Speech of *Christophorus Thuanus* is related with great Pleasure by (m) Father *Daniel*, who, like a true Jesuit, could not forgive that noble and most worthy Family the generous Freedom with which that great Historiān, the President's Son, had spoke of Jesuits, which, consistently with Truth, could not be avoided, in a History where the Civil Wars of *France*, and the Gunpowder Plot of *England*, were to be related.

Father *Daniel* should, however, have told us, that it was from the Son that he had that unfortunate Speech of the Father's : For such was that great Man's Candour, Sincerity, and sacred Love of Truth, that he does not at all conceal or disguise even the worst Part of his Father's Speech ; in which he commended the Prudence and Dissimulation of the King, who had made good that Maxim of his Ancestor *Lewis* the Eleventh, *Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare* ; and from this Speech, perhaps, of the first President it was, that, as (n) *Brantome* tells us, *Charles* the Ninth valued himself upon his Dissimulation, and his having so well practised on every Occasion that Maxim of his Predecessor. I shall not here enter into the History of this most horrid Massacre at large, or give my Reader a long Account how this Massacre was not confined to *Paris* alone, or how the Protestants were massacred almost in all the Provinces of *France* ; it is sufficient to my Purpose to name these Things, which may be seen at large in *Thuanus*, *Mezeray*, and all other

(m) Vide *Daniel*. lib. p. 974.

(n) *Brant*. T. 3. p. 6.

Historians, who relate the dreadful Annals of that Age. It may not be improper to observe, however, that great Rejoycings were made upon this Massacre at *Rome*, in *Spain*, in the Duke of *Alva's* Camp, and, in short, where-ever Popery prevailed, except, perhaps, at *Vienna*, where the Emperor *Maximilian* the Second publicly and openly declared his Abhorrence of it.

Herrera tells us, how much (o) Pope *Gregory* the Thirteenth was pleased with this Massacre, and that he gave God Thanks for it, as we are told also by (p) *Strada*: And it is notorious, that there was, among other Signals of a general Rejoycing, a Medal struck by Order of that Pope, with that Inscription, *Hugonotorum strages*. The Rejoycings were also as great in *Spain*, but, perhaps, they are more upon a Political, than upon a Religious Account (q). The Express, that carried the News thither, was but three Days and three Nights in going from *Paris* to *Madrid*. The King having sent him to the Admiral of *Castile*, he was hardly come before the Gate, when he cried out, (r) *Good News, good News*, all the *Lutherans* and

(o) El pontifice recibio gran contento. *Herrera* ib. p. 71. col. 2. — Mox decretum fuit, ut inde recta pontifex cum cardinalibus ad B. Marci concederet, & Deo opt. max. pro tanto beneficio sedi Romanæ, orbique Christiano collato gratias ritu solemniter ageret: item, ut die Lunæ proxima sacrum solemne in Minervæ æde celebretur, eique pontifex & cardinales interfint. Inde Jubilæum Christiano orbe publicetur. *Thuan.* l. 53. p. 1078.

(p) — Romanus pontifex egit in D. Ludovici templo, quo ipse instituta supplicatione se contulit, ultori Deo grates. *Strada* Decad. i. l. 7. p. 367. Ed. 1648. 16mo. Ad Ann. 1772.

(q) See *Brant*, Mem. Tom. 3. p. 167, 170. in the Life of the Admiral.

(r) Buenas nuevas, todos los Luteranos y de los mas principales son muertos y matados en Paris. Apud *Brantome* ibid. p. 169.

their Chiefs were murder'd three Days ago in *Paris*. The young Duke *de l'Infantada*, who was present, having declared his Surprize, that the *French*, who were Christians, should (f) thus kill and butcher one another like wild Beasts; the Admiral silenced him with these remarkable Words, related in *Spanish* by *Brantome*, (t) Hold your Peace, my Lord Duke, know that the War of *France* is the Peace of *Spain*, and the War of *Spain* is the Peace of *France*; and it is these Civil Wars of *France* which we kindle with our *Doublons*, and foment with our *Spanish* Gold.

It is not the proper Business of this Discourse to enquire, how these two Kingdoms, which for two hundred Years we had endeavour'd to keep at Variance, have been by us of late inseparably united, and so enabled, by their joint Strength, to bring about what they are now endeavouring, the Destruction of this Church and Nation, and, indeed, of the whole Protestant Interest, which, as *Bayle* rightly observes, long ow'd its Preservation and Safety to the Jealousy *France* and *Spain* mutually entertain'd of one another. An Enquiry of this Nature is quite Foreign to my Design in this Treatise; and I shall therefore only observe further, in regard to this dreadful Catastrophe, that the learned (u) *Muretus* at *Rome* made a publick Apology for the Massacre of *Paris*, or, rather, a Panegyrick upon it, in a Speech called, *Oratio pro Carolo nono*.

(f) Como diablo puede ser que pues que son Franceses y asy Christianos, sematam como bestias. Id. ib.

(t) Calla seuñor Ducque, que la guerra dy Francia, es la pax d'Espanna, y la pax d'Espanna es la guerra dy Francia con mu-estos dublones. Id. p. 169, 170.

(u) See *Niceron Mem. des Hommes illustres*, Tom. 27. p. 158.—*Teiffier Eloges*, Tom. 2. p. 110, 111. Ed. *Utrech*.

But what is yet still more strange is, that the famous *Naudæus* speaks of this Massacre in the same Strain. It is very remarkable, that though that learned Man was never thought to be a Bigot for Popery, but rather taken to be, what we call, a Free-thinker; yet, in a Book called (v) *Coups d'Etat*, or *Maxims of State*, he publicly commends and defends the Massacre; and says, the Court did not proceed with Rigour enough, and that it (w) did not spill Blood enough, though we are told by the Historians of those Times, that more than 30,000 Persons perish'd by that dreadful Massacre.

When we see a Man of *Naudæus's* free Way of Thinking, speak in this Manner of this horrid Action, we cannot wonder, that *Gretser*, who was a thorough Jesuit, should, as *Casaubon* tells us, blame *Thuanus*, because he did not commend what *Casaubon* very justly calls, (x) *infamem lanienam*, the infamous Butchery of the Year 1572.

I cannot pass over observing, on this melancholy Occasion, that we may apply with more Truth in regard to it, what the Author of a Book, intitled, *de Mortibus Persecutorum*, says of the Emperors that persecuted Christianity, that they all died violent Deaths. This Author, indeed, that he might make good the Title of his Book, has taken Care to say (y) nothing of the Persecutions of Christians by Emperors that died in their Beds. He has for this Reason said nothing of the Per-

(v) See *Naudæ. Coups d'Etat*, p. 177,—191.

(w) Vide ib. p. 179,—181.

(x) Vide *Casaub. in App. ep. 102. p. 829. Ed. 1638.*

(y) Vide *Lact. de mortibus persecut. memb. 2, 6.* Mr. Dodwell was mistaken, when he brings these Passages of *Lactantius*, as a Proof of his Notion of the small Number of Martyrs. Vide *de paucitate martyrum* *Dodw. diff. Cypr. num. 8. p. 227.*

secutions of *Trajan*, *Adrian*, or *Severus*, under whom, nevertheless, all the Ecclesiastical Authors tell us, that Christians were violently persecuted. For this Reason also, he particularly says nothing of one of the very greatest Persecutions of the Church, that of the Church of *Lyons*, which happen'd under that best of Emperors *M. Au. Antoninus*, who, notwithstanding, certainly died in his Bed; whereas *Commodus* his Son, who was, indeed, a very bad Prince, but who, however, as it happen'd, never molested the Christians, was murder'd in the Manner related by *Herodian* and other Historians. But whether it be in any great Degree true or not, of the Heathen Persecutors of Christians, that they generally died violent Deaths themselves, it is certain, that the Christian Persecutors of Protestants, especially the Authors and Abettors of this most horrible Massacre, did almost every one of them die in a most terrible Manner. And it seem'd that God Almighty was pleas'd to retaliate upon them those Massacres, those Assassinations, and those Murders, that were the Methods which they had themselves made use of to destroy the Protestants.

The first Duke of *Guise* was, in Revenge for the horrid Butcheries he had been the Occasion of among the Protestants, assassinated near *Orleans* by *Poltrot*, who was himself a Protestant. It was, without Doubt, a very great Crime in *Poltrot* to commit this Murder, though it was to revenge the Death of those Thousands of Protestants the Duke had got to be so cruelly butcher'd. It is much to be hoped, and I presume very rationally to be believed, that the Admiral had no Share in this Murder, which indeed, though by many suspected of, he constantly denied; but if he really had, it is to be observed, that himself was not exempt from the Terrors of this Kind of Retaliation, for
that

that Death was amply revenged upon him by the Son of that Duke.

Nothing can be more terrible, than the Death of *Charles* the Ninth, who fell weltering in his Blood ; and it is very probable that he was also poyson'd ; if it be true, that, in parting from a favourite Son the Duke of *Anjou*, who had been elected King of *Poland*, the Queen his Mother, when she saw him so unwilling to leave *France*, said to him, he need not afflict himself so deeply, for he should not stay long in *Poland*. This was spoken in such a Manner, that it was understood by all that heard it, as if she had said, the King his Brother, who was then in the Prime of Youth, should not live long, since it was his Death alone that could bring about the King of *Poland's* Return into *France*.

The Duke of *Guise*, just now mentioned, was also under the Appearance of Peace, even under the seeming Protection of a Treaty, murder'd at *Blois* by the Command of *Henry* the Third ; and that very Prince *Henry* the Third himself, who, with that Duke, had been the chief Contriver of the Massacre, was afterwards murder'd by a Fryar at *St. Claud* ; and, as some will have it, even in the very Room where the horrid Massacre had been contrived ; and this Accident happen'd at a very particular Juncture, at a Time when, by the Reduction of *Paris*, that unhappy Prince was in a Way to get the better of the League and of all his Enemies.

The Murder of this King, under Pretence of Religion, naturally leads me here to take Notice of that Murdering and Assassinating of heretical Kings, or of such as were suspected to be Abettors of Heresies, a Practice at that Time so common in the Church of *Rome*. It is well known, that this Murder was generally approved and applauded by

by the Bigots of the Church, and that the whole Convent of *Dominican* Fryars, to which the Murderer belonged, openly approved of the Deed. It was evidently, by their Persuasion, that the Murderer *Jaques Clement*, one of that Order, perpetrated the horrid Fact, and having, in Consequence of it, been killed upon the Spot, was publickly called a Martyr by a Preacher of the same Order. Almost all the Towns of *France*, which were of the Party of the League, applauded that Murder. And the Pope himself *Sixtus Quintus* highly extol'd it. Nay, it went so far, that the (z) most Catholick City of *Thoulous* order'd the first of *August*, the Day on which the King was murder'd, should be kept holy with Prayers and Thanksgivings to God for that great Deliverance.

Bayle has given us the remarkable Speech of the Ambassador of the League to the Pope, when he brought him the News of that Murder: And (a) *Bayle* concludes his Note on that Occasion with this just Observation, that those who approve or defend such horrid Acts, are as guilty of them as the Murderers themselves, and therefore the whole Body of the League and the Court of *Rome* may very well be charged with the Murder of that Prince. *Bayle* might, indeed, have gone much farther, and said, that the whole Church of *Rome* might be charged with it: For, except a few Catholicks

(z) Vide Thuan. l. 97. p. 746. vol. 4. — Daniel ubi supra, Tom. 6. p. 342, 344. ad Ann. 1589.

(a) See Bayle in the Article of Henry the Third, Note (Q.) See the Speech of Sixtus Quintus to the Cardinals, where he extols both the Murder and the Murderer. — Virtutem hominis, animi robur, & ferventem erga Deum amorem supra Eleazarum & Inditham multis verbis extollit, ex eoque colligit, hoc nisi certa divinæ providentiæ ordinatione ac auxilio confici non potuisse. Thuan. l. 96. p. 703.

that were with the King, and who were reckon'd no other than Protestants, and whom they called *Les Politiques*, the Politicians, there was no popish Country, in which both the Murder and the Murderer, were not highly commended.

The Affair of the Murder of *Henry* the Fourth has never been so perfectly clear'd up. The Examinations of the Murderer *Ravaillac*, and what he said there was stifled, and to this Day it is not certainly known, who were the Authors, or the Advisers of that Assassination. All that is certainly known, in regard to it is, that on his Examination (b) *Ravaillac* declared, that it had always been his Opinion, that resisting the Pope was the same Thing as resisting God himself: That he had resolved to kill the King, because, in Opposition to the Pope, and against his Holiness's Will, he had arm'd in Favour of protestant Princes of other Nations, and did not make War against the Protestants of *France*. And *Baillet*, in his Life of the famous *Richerius*, tells us these Answers of *Ravaillac* were agreeable to the Doctrine of the Jesuits, under whom he had been brought up. And this appears also from what (c) *Casaubon*, in his famous Epistle to *Fronro Ducaus*, who was a Jesuit himself, has quoted out of *Mariana*, *Bellarmino*, *Emanuel Sa*, and other Jesuits, who, upon the same Principles, all justify the Murder of heretical Princes.

(d) *Baillet* also observes, that *Bellarmino*, in his *Book de Potestate Papæ*, seems to vindicate *Ravaillac's* murdering *Henry* the Fourth: And to the

(b) See *Baillet* vie. de *Richer* apud le Clerc *Bibl. anc. & mod.* Tom. 12. p. 17.

(c) Vide *Casaub.* Ep. 111. p. 165, — 174.

(d) *Baillet* ubi supra, p. 9, 10.

Charge of the Jesuits, (e) *Richerius* lays the Doctrines, that made *Ravaillac* commit that horrid Act, and which Doctrines two Jesuits, *Rosweide* and *Gontbier*, were not afraid to maintain publicly, even that very Year the King was assassinated.

When the Parliament of *Paris* had afterwards order'd *Bellarmino's* Book to be burnt, the Pope's Nuncio got the Court to command, that the Execution of that Order should be suspended; and indeed, in Pursuance of such Applications, it was never complied with: And when the (f) *Sorbonne* had made a Decree against the Murderers of Kings, the (g) Bishop of *Paris* and other Prelates would not suffer that Decree to be published in the Parishes of their several Dioceses.

When, what is called the third State of *France*, which answers to our House of Commons, in the last States, or, as we should rather call it in the last Parliament that was held in *France*; when, I say, this third State would have condemned those treasonable Principles of the Pope's Power to depose, excommunicate, and deprive heretical Princes, or Princes suspected of Heresy, (h) Cardinal *du Perron*, in a most elaborate Speech, opposed the Motion. This Churchman frankly and boldly told them, that the Doctrine they were about to condemn, was held by the greatest Part of the Church of *Rome*; and that the Condemning of it would be making a Sort of a Schism between *France* and other Catholick Countries. He does not indeed, because he at that Time dar'd not

(e) Baillet ib. p. 17, 18.

(f) Id. ib. p. 22.

(g) Id. ib. p. 51.

(h) See the Substance of this Speech in *Jurieux hist. du Papisme ou Suite de l'Apologie pour la Reformation*, part 4. p. 274, — 279. Ed. duodec. 1683.

openly assert the Truth of that Doctrine; but he shows plainly enough in that Speech, as he does also in the (i) *Perroniana*, a Book that is made up of what he said in Conversation, that he was a Favourer and Abettor of this strange Opinion; an Opinion, which leaves the Government of the World at the Mercy of an old, weak, and often of a wicked Priest, and which, for more than 300 Years, in the Contest between the Popes and Emperors, made *Italy*, *Germany*, and indeed almost all *Europe*, to welter in their Blood, and cost Millions of Lives that were lost in those Quarrels.

Upon the Principle also of the Pope's Power of Excommunicating and Deposing heretical Princes, which may very well be reckon'd amongst the popish Persecutions, were grounded all the Conspiracies against our most excellent Princess *Queen Elizabeth*; and it was for complying with the thundering Bull of *Pius* the Fifth, in 1569, that those pretended *English* Martyrs suffer'd, whose Executions, by the popish Writers of that Time, are represented in such terrible Colours.

Thuanus however, who was not only a better Judge, but also a more impartial Writer, declares, that the Catholicks, who suffer'd then, suffer'd not as Catholicks but as Traytors, (k) *non tanquam Catholici sed quasi Perduelles*. And *Burnet* farther observes, that *Queen Elizabeth* was so far from any Cruelties to the *Roman* Catholicks, that she was at first very favourable, or, at least, very mild to them.

(i) See *Perroniana* in the Word Excommunication, p. 155. 158. In the Word *Rois*, p. 327, — 330.

(k) Vide *Thuan.* Tom. 5, l. 126. p. 759.

This Princess, it is evident, had a Mind to unite all her Subjects in one Faith, or, at least, in one outward Profession, and one uniform Worship: And for that Reason she would have nothing in the (l) Liturgy or Rubrick that should be thought to exclude Christ's corporal Presence in the Sacrament; And that Part of the Rubrick in the Liturgy of *Edward* the Sixth was, for this Occasion, left out, which mentions Christ's being only in Heaven, and which afterwards was put in again in the Time of King *Charles* the Second; and, as the Bishop tells us in his third Volume, this was done by the Queen, in Compliance not only with the Papists, but also with the *Lutherans*.

It is moreover very well known, that the Queen had the Crucifix in her own Chappel, and that this gave great Uneasiness to the Bishops of *Salisbury* and *Worcester*, (m) *Jewell* and *Sandys*. It is plain that she was also against (n) pulling down Images, and was equally afraid of zealous Protestants, and zealous Papists. And we are told by the Bishop, that what made the Queen go off from her former Lenity was, first the Bull of *Plus Quintus*, and afterwards her Discovering the King of *Spain's* Designs to invade her Dominions. Then she very rightly thought, the Papists were no more Papists in Conscience, but Papists in Faction; and from thence arose pecuniary Mulcts upon popish Recusants.

In justification of this Proceeding, it is very proper to observe, that there was no other Way of knowing who were or who were not Papists,

(l) See Burnet's Hist. of the Ref. vol. 2. p. 293.

(m) Burnet, vol. 2. p. 276, & 293.

(n) Burnet, vol. 2. p. 376.

who were and who were not engaged in those Plots against the Queen, that were carried on with the greatest Secrecy; and in this, that most judicious and candid Writer (o) *Du Pin* absolutely agrees with B——p *Burnet*. *Du Pin* positively says, that Queen *Elizabeth* made no Laws against Catholics, till that thundring Bull (*la Bulle foudroyante*) of *Pius* the Fifth was published, by which she was declared to have forfeited all her Dominions, and her Subjects were absolved from their Oath of Allegiance to her.

It is a very just Observation of *Bayle's*, in regard to the pretended Persecutions of Papists under Queen *Elizabeth*, that the (p) Dates of some Transactions, an exact Knowledge of which of these Transactions was before or after another, is of the greatest Consequence in Party and Religious Disputes. If, for Instance, the *French* Protestants had pull'd down Images, or overturn'd popish Altars before they were any Ways molested in the publick Exercise of their Religion, whatever they should have suffer'd upon thus disturbing that publick Worship, which had Laws and Authority on its Side, could not have been called Persecution; and for this plain Reason it must be allow'd, that those Christians could not properly be called Martyrs, who, in the Time of Heathenism, suffer'd because they pull'd down Altars, or any other Way affronted the then established Religion. That what we have related, in regard to the Time and Provocations received by Queen *Elizabeth*, is most certain, any one will find, who will impartially look over the best Historians of those Times;

(o) See *Du Pin* *Bibl. Eccles.* T. 15. p. 405. Col. 1. See the Quotations in *Archb—p Wake's* *Serm.* p. 47, 53.

(p) See *Bayle's* *Dict.* vol. 2. Ed. 1702. in the Article of *Elizabeth*, Note (k).

and how that Matter was in *France*, with relation to Protestants and Papists, I must also leave to the Historians of those Times, and of both Sides to determine; and shall only say, that by the Confession of the most unprejudiced Catholick Writers, particularly *Thuanus*, the *French* Protestants were persecuted, and even put to Death, before they committed any of these Outrages. (q) *Thuanus* particularly owns, that the Catholicks began the three Civil Wars, the Guilt of which he lays wholly at their Door.

(r) *Bayle*, indeed, says, it is a Dispute between protestant and popish Writers, whether Queen *Elizabeth's* Laws against the Papists gave Occasion to their many Conspiracies against her, or whether these Laws were owing to their Conspiracies, which, according to the respective Parties they are of, is affirm'd or denied by the Historians of both Sides. However, according to what I have before observed, *Bayle* himself is here unfair and partial; and it may not be improper on this Occasion to observe, that that Author, in his natural Temper, was a great Lover of Paradoxes, and especially if they made against the Christian Religion in general, or against the Protestant Religion in particular. And let me add, that I think it is a great Comfort to the Lovers of Religion and Liberty to consider, that the two great Patrons, the two great Founders of modern Atheism and Infidelity, *Hobbs* and *Bayle*, were both zealous Assertors of Arbitrary Power, and avow'd Enemies to the Liberties of Mankind.

In regard to *Bayle*, such was his enormous Love of Arbitrary Power, that even in a Republick,

(q) Vide *Thuan.* T. 2. l. 64. p. 677,—690.

(r) See *Bayle* Dict. in *Elizabeth*, ib.

where he himself had the utmost Oportunity to desire to be allow'd the Liberty of Thinking and Writing what he pleased, both in political and Religious Matters, he always took the greatest Pains to show the Inconveniencies of a Republican Government, as may be observed in his Article of (f) *Pericles*. And in the same Manner he pleads most strenuously for absolute Monarchy and Arbitrary Power, in the Articles of (t) *L'Hospital* Chancellor of *France*, and in that of (u) *La Vacquiere*, a Minister of *Lewis* the Eleventh. And to these might be added several other Passages of his Dictionary, in which this Doctrine is inculcated in Season and out of Season; and he boasts himself, in a Letter to a Friend of his at *Paris*, that for this Reason his Dictionary gave great Offence here in *England*. I will not mention here his Advice to the Refugees (*P'avis aux Refugez*) which was purposely writ against the Revolution, because, though that Book was certainly his, as has appear'd since from his own Hand-Writing, yet he always disown'd it: For which Reason, I shall therefore rather chuse to observe, that, though *Bayle* has thought fit to follow *Gambden* preferably to *Buchanan*, with relation to both their Accounts of *Mary Queen of Scots*; and that when *Thuanus* and a late popish *French* Historian, printed at *London*, seem to confirm all that *Buchanan* had said upon that Subject; yet, in his Article of

(f) See *Bayle Dict.* vol. 3. in *Pericle*, Note (O). sub finem, & Note (A).

(t) See *Dict.* vol. 2. in the Article of *L'Hospital*, Note (G).

(u) See *Dict.* T. 3. in the Article of *La Vacquiere*, Note (A) Letter 1. In these two last Passages *Bayle* takes great Pains to show, what great Mischiefs would have follow'd from the Parliament's of *Paris* opposing the Court, if that Opposition had been effectual.

Queen *Elizabeth*, he hardly ever quotes *Cambden*. On the contrary, *Gregorio Leti* is the only Historian of that Reign he quotes in general, though he mentions also *Bobun* and *Naunton* for some particular Facts.

The very Title of *Leti's* History is a Satyr upon Queen *Elizabeth*, whom, in his Title Page, he calls, *La Comediante Politica*, the Political Comedian; and yet this *Leti* is *Bayle's* great Author, though it is notorious that he wants not only Truth and Impartiality, but also every good Quality that should belong to an Historian.

Bayle indeed, it must be acknowledged, quotes *Father Orleans* for the great Character of that Queen; but yet it is also to be observed, that *Parsons* and *Fitz Simons* are with him credible Authors, or, at least, not confuted by him in the many Things they have said to blacken the History of that Princess.

Bayle makes no Scruple to say from them, that Queen *Elizabeth* was always a Papist in her Heart: That she absolutely (v) declared to the French Ambassador, that she believed the Pope's Supremacy, and that, when she was on her Death-Bed, she drove away all the protestant Bishops (*Pseudo-Episcopos*;) and yet, according to his sceptical Way of saying *pro* and *con* about the same Thing, and almost in the same Breath. (w) He himself, in another Place, quotes a French Author, called *Silban*, who says, that the Queen at her Death was waited upon by her own Caplains, by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Bishop of *London*.

And here, as I have necessarily had Occasion to

(v) *Bayle* ib. Note (7).

(w) *Bayle* ib. Note (2).

mention with Freedom the Works of Mr. Bayle, the Reader, I hope, will pardon me a short Digression farther in regard to that Author; in which I cannot but observe, that the World has a greater Opinion of Bayle's Learning than it really deserves: And of this permit me to offer some short Instances that give a very shrew'd Suspicion: Supposing that he was Master of that Learning he is generally supposed to have had, it appears to me amazing, that in his Article of *Jupiter*, he never quotes the historical Account *Diodorus Siculus* gives of that Heathen Deity in his third and fifth Book. He never tells us, that, according to *Diodorus*, *Jupiter* was a Sort of universal Monarch of the World, a (x) just King, and a great Benefactor to Mankind; nor, which is another most remarkable Thing, ever observes, that this Historian says nothing of *Jupiter's* Adulteries, and other loose and scandalous Stories which the Poets tell of him.

Though Bayle, in his Article of *Timæus*, quotes the twelfth Book of *Polybius*, where that Historian shows with what Partiality *Timæus* speaks of *Agathocles*; yet he says nothing of the other Instances of *Timæus's* Partiality mentioned by (y) *Polybius*, in the Abstracts out of him, *de Virtutibus & Vitiis*: And when (z) Bayle speaks of the too great Commendations given to *Timolion* by *Timæus*, he quotes only *Suidas*, and never mentions *Polybius*, a much greater Authority than *Suidas*, and from whom, though Mr. Bayle seems certainly not to have known it, it is probable, *Suidas*, who does not always name his Authors, borrow'd that

(x) Vide Diod. Sic. l. 3. p. 195. Vide l. 5. p. 338, 339.

(y) Vide Polybium Excerpta de Virtutibus & Vitiis, op. (T. 2. p. 1398, 1399. Ed. Amst. 8vo. 1679.

(z) See Bayle Dict. T. 3. in *Timæo*, Note (L).

very Observation, in which, without naming him, he quotes the very Words of *Polybius*.

But, to return to my Subject; with relation to the Date of the Conspiracies of Papists, and of their pretended Persecutions in that Reign; I cannot but observe, that *Thuanus* alone might have clear'd all Difficulties relating to it. (a) He absolutely tells us, that *Pius* the Fifth, having in vain endeavour'd to destroy Queen *Elizabeth* by encouraging several Plots and Conspiracies against her, did at last proscribe her as a Sectary, and an Abettor of Sectaries. And for those Crimes, both she, and all those who adhered to what is there called her Impiety, are cut off as rotten Members from the Unity of the Church. And the Pope goes on to deprive her of all Right she might have had to her Kingdom, and discharges all her Subjects from the Oath they had taken to her.

I cannot but here observe also, that no Citation, no Monition, as they speak in the Church of *Rome*, was previous to this Bull. But that it might come to the Knowledge of the Queen, with great Boldness, or rather, as *Thuanus* speaks, with great Rashness, one (b) *Felton*, one Day towards the Evening, fix'd it to the Gates of the (c) Episcopal Palace at *London*, where it remain'd till Eight o'Clock the next Morning. *Felton*, who had affixed it there, would not make his Escape, though there was nothing to hinder him; and ac-

(a) Vide *Thuan.* ad Ann. 1569. p. 797. Tom. 2. See the Bull itself, publish'd by B——p Barlow, *Brutum Fulmen*, p. 1, —6.

(b) Vide *Thuan.* ib.

(c) *Herrera* calls it the Archiepiscopal Palace of *London*. — la fixo a las puertas del Palacio Arcobispal de Londres. — *Herrera*, part 2. l. 1. c. 9. p. 23.

condignly was taken in the Fact, for which he suffer'd the Sentence of the Laws. He own'd, and to the last gloried in what he had done; and this is the first of our *English* popish Martyrs in that Reign.

The (a) Duke of Norfolk's Conspiracy, it is proper to observe, was the Consequence of this Pope's Bull. And *Hieronimus Catena*, quoted by *Cambden* and *Rapin*, in his Life of *Pius* the Fifth, glories in it, that this Conspiracy was promoted by that Pope, the Design of which was to restore Popery in England.

The same Account is also given by *Herrera*, a Spanish Historian, who tells us, that, upon the Examination of one *Banastre*, an Accomplice of the Duke's, and one who was trusted with all his Secrets, Papers were found that related to that Affair, and amongst them a Letter from the Bishop of *Ross*, who was Ambassador from the Queen of *Scots*, and was concern'd in all the Plots against Queen *Elizabeth*.

Money was also sent by the (b) Pope, we find, together with several Briefs to the same Purpose. And the same Historian tells us of the pretended Martyrdom of *Felton*, with several Circumstances which I do not find in other Historians. He tells us, how *Felton* declared, that if he had pleased he might have made his Escape: But that he came from *Rome* on Purpose to fix this Bull, that he might have the Merit of it with God, and show'd with his Hand the Place where he had fix'd it; and earnestly desired the Spectators to look after

(a) Vide *Cambden* Ann. *Elizabeth*. p. 222, ad Ann. 1572. Ed. *Lug. Batav.* 1625. — Vide *Rapin* in *Elizabeth*. T. 5.

P. 316.

(b) — dineros que anla ebiado el Papa. — *Herrera* ubi supra, p. 23. col. 2.

their Consciences, and told them, that the Queen would not be able to save their Souls in another World. All this *Felton* spoke with (i) great Fervour of Spirit, and, as my Historian says, to the Edification of all his Hearers; and then suffer'd the usual Punishment for high Treason, which is very tragically described by *Herrera*, who endeavours also to make it the more terrible Story, by adding, that they made him (k) suffer the same Martyrdom, the same Torments, that other Catholics had suffer'd.

Herrera, it seems, did not or else would not know, that what he there calls the Martyrdom of Catholics, is the common Punishment, without Distinction of Religion, of all who suffer in *England* for high Treason, and that it is not so terrible as it may be made to appear, by relating, for that, before the Bowels are taken out, the Men are generally dead.

(l) *Cambden* and, from him, *Rapin* tell us also, that the Bull of *Pius* the Fifth made the *English* Seminaries at *Rheims* and *Doway* to be so many Nurseries of Rebellion and Sedition against the Queen; for that after it, all those that came out of these Seminaries preached publickly, that the Queen was lawfully deprived of her Crown, and was no longer to be look'd upon as Queen of *England*.

Cardinal *Allen*, *Parsons*, and *Campion*, were the three great Incendiaries of those Times. They

(i) — lo dixo con tanto hervor de espíritu, que edifico a muchos—Id. ib.

(k) — martyrizaron de la manera que a los demas Catholicos. Id. ib.

(l) Vide ad Ann. 1580. *Cambd.* ubi supra, p. 314.—319. See of *Perry*, who undertook to murder the Queen. *Cambd.* ad Ann. 1585. See Cardinal *Cono's* Letters apud *Wake*, ubi supra, vol. 3. S. 2. P. 54.

were

were the Persons who set on Foot all the Rebel-
lions and Seditions of the Papists during that
Reign. *Parsons* and *Campion* had both been Pro-
testants, and *Campion* had been a Deacon of the
Church of *England*: They had both been *Camb-*
den's Contemporaries, *Parsons* at *Baliol*, and *Cam-*
pian at *St. John's*. (m) *Parsons*, as *Cambden* says,
was a Man of a very rough Behaviour, of a bru-
tal Disposition, whereas (n) *Campion* was polite,
and a well temper'd, and a well manner'd Man.
But notwithstanding the good Opinion *Cambden*
had of *Campion*, (o) he is ingenuous enough to say,
that both *Campion* and those that suffer'd with him,
suffer'd for Rebellion and not for Religion.

(p) *Herrera*, indeed, has given us a most tra-
gical Account of the Sufferings of those several
Catholicks, who were executed at that Time, who,
he says, were treated in a most horrid and cruel
Manner; and either did not, or would not know,
that these pretended Cruelties are as little agree-
able to the Laws of *England*, as they are to the
Temper of the *English* People, who abhor, and
always did abhor, all Cruelties of this Kind.
(q) This Author says particularly of *Campion*, that
he was whip'd in Prison, and suffer'd divers Kinds
of Torments, which no impartial Person can be-
lieve, since our *English* Constitution does not al-
low of at present, and, very probably, did not
allow of at that Time any Thing of that Kind.
He owns, however, that Treason and Sedition
were laid to the Charge of *Campion* and his As-

(m) — ferox natura, & moribus incultioribus. *Cambd. ib.*
p. 317.

(n) — vir suavis & politissimus. *Id. ib.*

(o) Vide *Cambd. ib.* p. 347. ad Ann. 1580, 1581.

(p) See *Herrera ib.* p. 461, 462. l. 11, c. 15.

(q) *Id. ib.* p. 462, col. 2.

sociates ; and when he mentions how *Campion* was lead through the Streets of *London*, with that Inscription fixed to his Hat, *This is Campian the seditious Jesuit*, *Herrera* does not at all go about to clear him of this Charge ; and, at the Place of Execution, when *Campion* was bid to confess his Treason, it does not appear, that he either disowned or denied it ; which, if he had done, it would undoubtedly have been mentioned by this Historian.

In regard to the Punishment *Campion* suffer'd, it was, as I observed before, no other than the Punishment which all Traytors in *England* suffer, whether Catholicks or Protestants. And it is most evident, from this and a Thousand other Particulars, that neither *Campion*, nor the other Papists that were executed at that Time, suffer'd upon a Religious Account.

Several others, whom this Author names, were executed also, because they boldly and publickly (r) acknowledged the Pope's Authority, and denied the Queen's Supremacy in Ecclesiastical Matters. But instead of thinking this Injustice, Cruelty, or Persecution, we ought to consider, that both these were High Treason by our Laws, and therefore it was with a great deal of Reason and Truth all *England* was given to understand, that these Persons did not suffer as Martyrs, but as Rebels and Conspirators against the Queen, who had endeavour'd to stir up the People to Rebellion against her.

(f) Several Pictures and Cuts were, at this Time,

(r) See *Herrera*, b. 15. c. 28. p. 624. upon the Year 1555.

(f) — Ut Anglicanarum persecutionum speciem ad majorem terrorem oculis quasi præsentem subjicerent (*Guissani emissarii*) tabulas æneas celari curant, in quibus cuncta, quæ de his traduntur,

Time, shown about, in which the pretended Torments of the *English* Catholicks were painted, and which the *French* League took great Pains to disperse all over *France*; and indeed these pretended Cruelties and Torments of the *English* Catholicks, made so much Noise in the World, that the (r) Judges were obliged to draw up and publish a Writing, whertin they all declared, that they never condemned any Man to Death, merely upon a Religious Account; and that if *Campion* had been tortured, in order to bring him to some necessary Confession, it was so slightly, that he could walk after it as before, and voluntarily sign'd a Confession.

Endless were, at this Time, the Machinations and Contrivances of the Pope and the King of *Spain*, against the Life of Queen *Elizabeth*. Both (u) *Thuanus* and *Cambden* speak of the Jew *Lopez*, who was employ'd by Count *Fuentes*, one of the King of *Spain's* Ministers, to poison the Queen. And of this she complain'd, in the most pathetick Terms, to Archduke *Ernest*, and desired him to remonstrate to the King of *Spain*, that he ought not to encourage, but to reprove and punish his Ministers for encouraging and abetting such Villanies.

The Story of (v) *Walpole* the Jesuit, who would have poison'd the Queen's Saddle, we have also in *Cambden*; and, in short, it would be endless to enumerate all the fruitless Attempts the Papists

dantur, ad horrorem depicta visebantur, inde expressa folia publice ad spectaculum proposita. Thuan. vol. 4. l. 81. p. 10. ad Ann. 1585.

(r) Vide Rapin ubi supra, p. 369.

(u) Vide Thuan. ib. l. 109. p. 1390, 1391. ad Ann. 1604: Vide Cambd. 623, 625.

(v) Vide Camb. ib. p. 725, 726. ad Ann. 1598.

made

made, by Poison or Assassination, to put that Queen out of the Way. I shall only add, that (w) *Clement* the Eighth, following the Steps of his last Predecessors, granted Indulgences to those who assisted and fought under the Earl of Tyrone and the other Leaders of the *Irish* Rebels in that Reign: And that the same (x) Pope sent Briefs to the Catholick Laity and Clergy, by which they were order'd not to submit to any King or Queen whatever, that should not be a Catholick: And to these Briefs of that Pope, *Cambden* says, the Gunpowder Plot was originally entirely owing.

That Pope, indeed, might very well enjoin his Catholicks not to acknowledge any King, that was not approved or confirmed by him. He had a most just and absolute Right to do this, if, as (y) *Bellarmino* says, the Pope is the true King of *England*, the Pope has, it seems, according to this Writer, a direct Dominion over the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*. And the King, *tanquam Secundarius Dominus*, really only holds his Realm of the Pope; and to this it is proper to add, that it was not the single Opinion of that Gentleman, for Cardinal *Allen*, in his Admonition to the Nobility, says, that, without the Pope's Confirmation, no Man can lawfully take the Crown, nor be accounted King of *England*.

To all these Persecutions of Protestants by the Papists of the Sixteenth Century, (for I cannot but account these Contrivances and Machinations against the Lives of protestant or pretended heretical Princes, one of the worst Sort of Persecution :) To all these Persecutions, I say, it will

(w) Vide *Cambd. Ann.* 1600. ib. p. 749, 750.

(x) Vide *Cambd. ib.* p. 769, 770.

(y) See *Wake*, vol. 3, S. 2, p. 62, Note (d).

now be proper to add those of the last Century, the Persecution of the *Vaudois* in *Piedmont*, and that which put an End to the protestant Churches in *France*.

We have an Account of the Persecutions of the *Vaudois*, given us by that great Prelate Archbishop *Wake*, whose early, learned, and constant Labours against Popery, so justly gained him an universal Reputation all over the protestant Parts of *Europe*. In a Sermon preached by him in 1699, (when a noble Collection was made by these unhappy People by the late King *William* :) From the Histories of those Persecutions, some of them writ in *English* by Sir *Samuel Morland*, and the late Dr. *Allix*, the Archbishop first tells us of the Persecutions they suffer'd before the Reformation, from the thirteenth to the fifteenth Century. And afterwards goes on to show, how their whole Country was ruin'd by the Dukes of *Savoy* in the Year 1655; what great Calamities were after this brought again upon the Inhabitants of these Valleys, in the Year 1686; and how nothing but the Intercession of protestant Princes, then in Alliance with the Duke of *Savoy*, prevented at that Time their utmost and final Desolation.

The (z) Archbishop earnestly recommends to his protestant Readers the History of the barbarous Slaughters that had been committed upon those poor People; which would give to every one a lively Image of Popery. And it is to be observed, that what greatly enhances the Guilt of these Persecutions is, that they were committed upon a People remarkable for the Inoffensiveness of their Lives and Manners. The *Vaudois* were separated by vast Mountains from the rest of the World;

(z) See *Wake*, vol. 3. S. 1. p. 24, 25, 27.

and while in this their Country they desired nothing but to live in Peace with their Neighbours; and in the Enjoyment of a good Conscience, they were persecuted, and hunted like wild Beasts, and every where destroy'd by Fire and Sword. And to this it may be added, that their Enemies not only persecuted them without a Cause, but also against the (a) most solemn and sacred Engagements to the contrary.

To commit this horrid Butchery, they broke the publick Faith, violated their own Promises and Treaties, and, in the End, were not contented with Beggaring, Banishing, and Murdering these unfortunate Men, but they most maliciously attacked their Reputations, and falsely (b) charged upon them *Arianism*, *Manicheism*, and, in short, the worst of Heresies.

The publick Meetings of these People, like those of the primitive Christians, and afterwards of the first (*) *French* Protestants, were also represented as being full of Lust and Debauchery, and they were with equal Malice and Falseness charged with Sedition and Rebellion.

Notwithstanding that the Calamities of these innocent Persons cannot but be look'd upon as a most terrible Proof of the Spirit of popish Persecution; yet the Case of the *French* Protestants, in the Persecution raised against them by *Lewis* the Fourteenth, is yet greatly worse; and to give it its most just Character, it was the most of all others like *Julian's* Persecution, who even envied Christians the Glory of Martydom.

What is yet a greater Aggravation of the Guilt

(a) *Id. ib.* p. 25.

(b) *Id. ib.* p. 25, 26.

(*) See *Mez. Ab.* vol. 5. p. 11. ad Ann. 1559.

of this Persecution is, that it was owned by the Court, and testified by the Queen-Mother herself, that in the Civil Wars, during her Son's Minority, the (c) Protestants alone saved the Crown by their Loyalty and Fidelity to the King. It cannot, indeed, be denied, but that they supported and assisted him with all their Power against his own Uncle, the Princes of the Blood, and the Parliaments of *France*, who had all joined in the War, in which they were assisted by *Spain*, to oblige the Queen and her Son to part with their favourite Minister Cardinal *Mazarin*: And, indeed, nothing is more true, than that it was to the powerful Struggles of the Protestants against the Catholick League, against the united Body of almost all the Papists in *Europe*, that the House of *Bourbon* owes their being Kings of *France*. In short, that to the Protestants they owe that very Power that has since been so barbarously and so ungratefully exerted to their Destruction.

Long before the Repeal of the famous Edict of *Nants*, in a Book called, *Les Plaintes des Protestants*, the Complaints of the Protestants of *France*, Mr. *Claude*, the famous Minister of *Paris*, shows how they were oppress'd and harras'd by a bigotted Court under Jesuitical Directions. In short, the Protestants were not allow'd to sell their Estates: They were forced to bear the (d) greatest Burthen of the publick Taxes: They were molested in their Commerce, and their Mechanicks, and Artificers were hardly suffer'd to exercise their respective Trades; and they were (e) turn'd out of all publick Employments. Children of seven Years old

(c) See *les Plaintes des Protestants de France*, p. 7, 8.

(d) — *Plaintes*, p. 28, 29.

(e) *Ib.* p. 22, 23.

were emancipated from their Parents, and, by a Royal Declaration, were allow'd at that Age to change, or, as it was called, to chuse their Religion, and the Parents were obliged to provide for them as before. (f) All the protestant Universities were also suppress'd, and, in this Respect, they not only follow'd the Pattern *Julian* had set them, but even went much beyond it. (g) *Julian* would not suffer Christians to read and explain to their Children, what we call the *Greek* Classicks: He would not allow them to explain to them the Writings of *Homer*, *Hesiod*, *Demosthenes*, &c. because they did not believe in the Gods those Authors worshipped. But then, he did not hinder them from instructing their Children in their own Religion, and, as he speaks himself, he (h) allow'd them to read *Matthew* and *Luke* as much as they pleased; and yet, that great Panegyrist of *Julian*, (i) *Amianus Marcellinus*, speaks, with the utmost Detestation and Abhorrence, of this Sort of Persecution, tho' much slighter than any Thing, which, in this and other Respects, the *French* Protestants at this Time suffer'd.

Lastly, when other Missionaries were found to be ineffectual to the pretended Conversion of Protestants, then, what I may call (k) military Missionaries, were let loose upon them. Whole Regiments of Dragoons were put to live upon them

(f) *Ib.* p. 35, 36.

(g) Vide *Socrat.* l. 3. c. 12. p. 184. — Vide *Theodoret. Hist. Eccl.* l. 3. c. 8. — Vide ipsum *Julianum* ep. 42. part. 2. p. 193, — 195.

(h) — ἐξηγησόμενοι Μαρτίνου & Λουκᾶν. *Julian.* *ib.* p. 195.

(i) — Illud autem inclemens, & perenni oburgandum silentio quod arcebat (*Julianus*) docere magistros rhetoricos & grammaticos ritus Christiani cultores. *Amian. Marcel.* l. 22. p. 227. Ed. 1636.

(k) Vide *Plaintes*, p. 66, — 78.

at free Quarter, who wantonly wasted the Provisions they found in the Houses of their Landlords, and destroy'd their Furniture. And beside Ravages and Mischiefs of this Kind, finding they were encouraged in their ill Behaviour, they soon began to be insolent in the highest Degree; and, having received Orders accordingly, they proceeded to all the Scenes of Malice, Villany and Barbarity they could invent: They beat Drums about the Protestants Ears, to keep them continually waking: They behaved with the utmost Insolence to their Wives and Daughters: They tormented both Men and Women in their Bodies; and would not allow them even the Favour of being dispatch'd at once, or putting an End to their Miseries by Death.

(l) The Protestants were not allow'd to go out of the Kingdom, and when any of them were taken endeavouring to make their Escape, the Gallies, and sometimes Death, was their Punishment. Not even the Pangs of Death, the Agonies of dying Persons, could protect them from their monstrous Cruelties, but by an unheard-of Sacrilege, by a monstrous Profanation of, what they call, the most sacred Mystery of their Religion, their Sacrament, their Bread-God was forced (m) down the Throats of dying Protestants. And such was the Baseness of the Times, that of this Act both of Cruelty and Impiety, none of their Bishops or Clergy had the Honesty or Courage to testify publicly their Dislike, except

(l) *Plaintes*, p. 83, 84. & p. 95, 96.

(m) Vide Beauval *Hist. des Ouvrages des Scavans*, in his Abstract of the Book called, *L'impieété des communions forcées*. February 1689. p. 560, 570.

one, the learned (n) *Montgaillard*, Bishop of St. Pons.

Notwithstanding however, that it was by all these Violences that the *French* Protestants were forced to abjure their Religion; yet, in the Writings that were drawn up for them to sign, they were obliged to say, that their Conversion was wholly free and voluntary; that it was (o) owing to Conviction, and not to any Kind of Force or Compulsion. And by another Declaration of the King's, the Bodies of the new Converts, who declared they died Protestants, (p) were taken out of their Graves, and left unburied. The Reader will, perhaps, be not less surprized at the Means used in endeavouring to keep all this secret, Mercenary Writers were, for that Purpose, hired at the same Time to say, that there was no Sort of Persecution in *France*: And, in a Dedication to his History of the Pontificate of Pope *Gregory* the First, (q) *Maimbourg* had the Impudence to congratulate the King upon the Conversion of Protestants, which, he says, every Body were Witnesses was not owing to any ill Treatment they had received.

Mr. *Claude's* Book was read all over *Europe*, and the Facts in it were never denied; but the most unanswerable Proof of this Persecution is, the Multitude that fled from it: More than 150,000 Families, that then retired from *France* into all the protestant Countries in *Europe*, are flagrant Proofs, and incontestible Monuments of it, and

(n) Vide Beauval ib. p. 561, 562.

(o) Vide *Plaintes*, p. 101.

(p) Vide Beauval ubi supra, p. 568,—570.

(q) See Bayle, *Nouvell. de la Rep. des Lettres*, p. 193, and 201. Feb. 1686. Tom. 5.

their Children and Posterity, who are yet remaining in these several Countries, are still so many living Witnesses of the Truth of it. No one, I presume, can suppose, that an epidemical Madness seized, at that Time, all the *French* Protestants, and made them leave their native Country, one of the finest Countries in *Europe*, without some Reason. None can imagine, they would have left their Trade, their Estates, and their Friends and Relations, if they had been unmolested in the Enjoyment of these Things, if they had been suffered quietly to enjoy the free Exercise of their Religion. It is remarkable that the *French* naturally love their Country so much, that it is certain they would never leave it, if they could any Way be allowed to live tolerably in it: In short, if they were not driven from it by such ill Usage as was more intolerable than even perpetual Banishment.

But to carry on regularly and impartially this short History of Persecutions, I am sorry I am compelled to acknowledge, that Protestants, even at a Time when they were themselves just delivered from Persecution; nay, even, when under Persecution themselves, have also by their Practice justified it, and have practised it against their protestant Brethren; nay, even against those who dissented from them in Matters of Ceremony only, of Discipline or Church Government, or even in mere speculative Points of Religion: In Points which, as in the Persecution of the Remonstrants of *Arminians* in *Holland*, the Persecutors themselves did not pretend to be fundamental.

I will not, indeed, pretend to say, that the Heresy of *Servetus* was of this Sort. He not only denied the Doctrine of the Trinity, but even spoke
of

of it in the most (r) reproachful Terms, instead of that Respect that he ought certainly to have paid to a Doctrine which he could not deny, but that it was, or, at least, look'd very much like a primitive Doctrine of Christianity. Notwithstanding this, however, and although *Servetus's* Heresy struck at fundamental Points of Religion; and tho' the Maintaining of his Opinion seems hardly reconcileable with believing the Divine Authority of Scripture; yet I must do the Professors of our holy Religion the Justice to say, that the (*) Burning of *Servetus* by the Interest, and, indeed, at the Prosecution of *Calvin*, has been since disown'd by some, and, indeed, disapproved and abhorred almost by all Protestants: And I do not know how to reconcile, with the known Moderation and Christian Temper of (f) *Melancthon*, what *Rivet* says, in his last Answer to *Grotius*, that *Melancthon* approved of the Burning of this Heretick, All that can be said in Favour of *Calvin*, in regard to this, is, that Men do not get rid of all their Prejudices at once. But the making it a Duty to burn Hereticks, which is unquestionably a much greater Heresy than even that of *Servetus*, was one of the insupportable Heresies of the Church of *Rome*, and one of those Things which *Calvin* and *Beza* ought wholly to have left behind them.

This most unhappy, and indeed monstrous Opi-

(r) An ergo discussori blasphemus non fuit, qui sacrosanctam Trinitatem ore impuro ausus est cum tricipito Cerbero comparare. *Rivet*. ubi infra, p. 593.

(*) Father Paul, speaking of the Burning of *Servetus*, says, The World was much surprized to hear, that the Reform'd should put any Man to Death upon a Religious Account. Vide illud Fuanco vdito con gran maraviglia, che quei della nuova riforma mettessero mano nel sangue per causa di religione. Fra Paolo Hist. del. Conc. de Trento, l. 4. p. 396, ad Ann. 1555.

(/) Vide *Rivet*, *Grot. Discuss. Arianismi*, Sect. 16. p. 563.

nion, was a much more dangerous Error than even that of Transubstantiation, or any other Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*: And they should have remember'd, that justified all the Persecutions the first Protestants suffer'd from that Church; and that if it was lawful for *Calvin* and the Republick of *Geneva* to burn *Servetus*, it was also lawful for the Kings and Clergy of *France* to burn as many Protestants as they could catch. It is amazing they did not see this most plain Consequence, and that they could pretend to justify their own Practice in that Respect, and at the same Time so violently condemn that of their Adversaries: But this they did from that wretched Piece of Sophistry, that the Protestants had Truth on their Side; and the popish Religion was a Medley of the most absurd Opinions. There is no Doubt, indeed, but that it is so, and that some of them even strike at the very Essentials of Christianity, as particularly their favourite Doctrine of Transubstantiation evidently does, which destroys the Evidence of Sense, upon which Christianity itself is grounded.

All this, indeed, and a great deal more that might be said on this Occasion, is certainly most true: But then we are to consider, that it is a Truth not fit to be made the Basis of Persecution and Murder, for that if it be, it will be made a Justification of every Religion as well as ours, in the same Practices, since Papists will certainly say, it is they and not we that have the Truth on their Side. They have the infallible Authority of the Church; without which, not considering the great Advantage they give to the Deists by such Doctrines, they pretend it would be impossible to defend even the Truth of the Christian Religion. In a Word, all Sects, all Parties, and all Religions, the *Indian Bramins*, the *Mandarines of China*, and the

the *Turkish* Muftis; all these, I say, unquestionably think they have Truth on their Side. These all reject Christianity, and are as firmly persuaded of its Falseness or Imperfection, as the Protestants or Papists are persuaded, that the respective Religions they profess are true or false. And let the Papists, those violent Assertors of the Lawfulness of Persecution on these Principles, consider, that upon these very Principles the popish Missionaries ought all immediately to be destroy'd in *India* and *China*. The Grand Seignior ought immediately to destroy his Christian Subjects, especially those of the *Greek* Church, which, in so great Multitudes, are scatter'd over almost all the Provinces of that great Empire. And, lastly, by vertue of this Principle, Papists may persecute Protestants in popish Countries, and it will warrant Protestants to persecute Papists in this and all other protestant ones.

St. *Austin* was the first who made Use of this unhappy Principle, in his two famous Letters in Defence of Persecution; and it was by his firm Opinion, that the Catholicks were in the Right, and the Donatists were in the Wrong; that he defended the Persecutions of the latter, and argues, that (t) *Jezabel* kill'd the Prophets of the Lord, and *Elias* kill'd the Priests, or, as St. *Austin* calls them, the Prophets of *Baal*. In these Cases, (u) he says, the Intention of him that persecuted is to be consider'd. The one persecuted for the Truth, the other for Iniquity and Falseness; the

(t) *Jezabel occidit prophetas: Helias occidit pseudopphetas. Puto, quod sint diversa merita facientium, & diversa passorum. Aug. Ep. 48. p. 216.*

(u) *Si ergo verum dicere vel agnoscere volumus, est persecutio injusta, quam faciunt impii ecclesiæ Christi, & est justa persecutio, quam faciunt impiis ecclesiæ Christi. Aug. Ep. 50.*

one with a Purpose to hurt, the other with a Purpose to amend those he persecuted, *Quis nocendi causa, quis emendandi*: And, in short, he brings it to this Conclusion, that it is an unjust Persecution, which the Wicked, that is, the Schismatics, raise against the Church of Christ; and that is a just Persecution, which the Church of Christ raises against the Impious, that is, against the Donatists or Schismatics.

From this ill-grounded and unhappy Principle *St. Austin* not only approves of those Imperial Laws, by which the Donatists were restrained from holding publick Assemblies, and by which they were banish'd; but even commends those by which they were not allow'd to make Wills, and by which those they made were declared to be of no Force; which last Sort of Persecution, I cannot but observe, is subversive of all Property, and of the most inviolable Rights of Mankind.

But, of all Things, is it not most amazing, that this very Doctrine should have been asserted by some *French Refugees in Holland*, even when they were themselves hardly snatched out of the Fire of Persecution; when, as one expresses it, the Smoke of that Fire was almost yet to be smell'd about them. So early as this, in short, these very People boldly asserted, that Error could not claim the Privilege of being free from Persecution; and that this was the incommunicable Privilege of Truth. The contrary Opinion was therefore called, the Heresy of Toleration, and those, who maintain'd it, were treated as Hereticks.

It is most amazing, that the Assertors of these Doctrines should not consider, that they were by them justifying the blackest of all Persecutors, that this Sort of Reasoning even justified all the *Jews* did against our Saviour himself. The *Jews*, according

cording to all that is required in it, certainly thought, that they acted agreeably to Truth and Reason, when they crucified our Saviour, whom they call'd a Seducer. And by this Way of Arguing, the *Jewish* Rulers are also fairly justified in Scourging the Apostles, because, in Disobedience to their Commands, the Apostles still continued to preach in the Name of Jesus, by which they seemed to intend to bring upon them the *Blood of this Man*.

The Defenders of Persecution surely have never consider'd, that the Transition is easy, from smaller to greater Penalties; and that if it be lawful, if it be a Duty, by Fines and pecuniary Mulcts, to restrain Hereticks and Schismatics from holding publick Assemblies, when these Methods are found ineffectual, and Hereticks prove refractory, and are no otherwise to be restrained, then it will, by the same Doctrine, be lawful, nay, it will be a Duty to punish them even with Death.

By retorting these Sort of Principles upon Protestants, the Papists in *France* have justified the Massacres of the sixteenth Century, and the later and not much milder Persecution under *Lewis* the Fourteenth. To justify these Proceedings by this Sort of Retortion, a *Benedictine* Monk, (v) *Denys de St. Martine* was employ'd; and his Way of doing it was, that he made Use of (w) *Pryn's Fulcimentum Gladii*, who had quoted a long Train of protestant Writers of these Principles, and all the

(v) Vide Beauval in his Abstract of the Book of that Monk, called, *Reponse aux Plaintes des Protestans touchant la pretendue persecution de France*. Hist. des ouv. des Scavans. March 1688. p. 378,—386. That Book is a pretended Answer to the Book that was quoted before; but none of the Facts asserted by the former Author, are denied by the latter.

(w) Vide Beauval ib. p. 384.

protestant Confessions of Faith, which justify Persecution.

To these protestant Authors, whom *Pryn* has quoted, *Bayle* adds *Bibliander*, in his Treatise *de legitima vindicatione Christianismi veri*; in which that Author maintains, that the Gospel has not repeal'd *Moses's* Laws against Idolaters, which are warmly defended by *Philo*, who, when he speaks of the Acts of *Phineas*, from that Fact and those Laws, asserts, that all Idolaters ought yet to be put to Death. But I cannot but observe, that this was a strange Doctrine for a Jew to maintain, who lived in a World of Idolaters, that were the Masters both of him and his Nation. *Bibliander*, in short, justifies all the Laws of the Code against Hereticks, and desires new *Maccabees* and new *Constantines* may arise to make War against the Enemies of Truth.

After this Retortion of *St. Martbe*, however, from these Writings of Protestants, the famous *Jurieu* in *Holland* still maintain'd, that Truth had a Right to persecute Error; and notwithstanding the glaring Evidence we have for the Truth of Christianity, he affirms, that that (x) Evidence alone would not have been able to support it against its Enemies; and that were it not for the Laws of *Constantine* and *Theodosius* against Heathenism, it would still have been triumphant, and three Parts in Four of *Europe* would still have been *Pagans*.

Jurieu, in short, ridicules the Fathers for all their fine Sayings against Persecution, and in Favour of Liberty of Conscience; and takes Notice of what I have shown to be but too true, that the Fathers soon changed their Note, as soon as they

(x) Vide *Jurieu Droit des deux Souverains*, p. 280.

had on their Side that Power and Authority which was against them before.

I am sorry that Truth obliges me, in Continuation of this Treatise, to confess, that the *English* Protestants of all Sects and Parties, like their *Dutch* and *French* protestant Neighbours, cannot be acquitted of having too much favour'd Persecution, and having been Enemies to the Toleration of those Protestants that dissented from them, according as each Sect or Party had Power in their Hands.

There never was, without Doubt, a more unreasonable Separation from any established Church in the World, than the present Separation from the Church of *England*. Nothing can, in short, be objected against her Doctrines, nor is an idolatrous Worship even charged upon her by her worst Enemies. Liturgies and Set Forms of Worship have ever been in Use in the Christian Church. And though it must also be acknowledged, that the ancient Liturgies are not so old as those whose Names they bear, as *St. Basil* and *St. Chrysostome*, much less *St. James* and *St. Mark*; yet that Liturgies and Forms of Prayer have been constantly used in the Church, almost from its very Beginning, (y) *Mr. Bingham* and *Bishop Bull* have, with a great deal of Learning, proved beyond Contradiction.

Liturgies are used by all protestant Churches Abroad. *Bucer*, who was one of the first Reformers, and who was much concern'd in our

(y) See *Bingham's Ant. of the Christian Church*, vol. 5. c. 5. p. 117,—189. See *Bishop Bull's Sermon's*, vol. 2. S. 13. p. 547,—555. The Bishop there observes, out of *Drusius*, *Capellus*, and *Grotius*, in *Matt. vi. 9.* that the Lord's Prayer was taken from the Jewish Liturgies. See *Bull* *ibid.* p. 355,—358.

English Reformation, is said to have compiled a Liturgy for *Herman* Archbishop of *Cologne*, who was a Sort of Protestant: And this Liturgy, the famous Father *Simon* (z) says, the *English* have wholly taken into theirs.

Very lately the protestant Churches of *Geneva* and *Neufchatel* have framed Liturgies, that are chiefly taken out of that of the Church of *England*; and that Liturgy is now used at *Geneva* on *Tuesdays* at Evening Prayers, at which I myself have been present.

Whether or no Episcopacy be of Apostolical Institution, it is allow'd, I believe, even by its Adversaries, to have been universally settled in the Christian Church, at farthest about the Middle of the Second Century; and that brings it very near to the Time of the Death of St. *John*; and we have in *Eusebius* several Accounts of the Succession of Bishops even much earlier than that Time.

And I believe all Protestants most heartily wish, that the Use of the Surplice, the Use of the Cross in Baptism, and the Kneeling at the Sacrament, were the only Quarrel they have had Occasion to have with the Church of *Rome*. Had this been the Case, I believe I may very safely venture to affirm, that we should never have heard of *Irish* and *French* Massacres, nor of any of those Persecutions that have been the Subject of the preceding Part of this Treatise.

But as unreasonable, however, as this Separation seems to be to us, and indeed to almost all the World, except the Persons concern'd in it, and though it is not warranted by the Practice of the primitive Church, nor of any other Church in the

(z) See *Simon* Bibl. Critique, T. 3. p. 273, 277.

World, who never did make even an unedifying Worship, if it was not a sinful one, a Ground of withdrawing from the Communion of an Established Church; yet every Absurdity of Conduct, even in Civil, much less in Religious Matters, does not fall under the Cognizance of the Magistrate, and is not a proper Subject for temporal Penalties.

I can hardly think, for Instance, that so ingenious a Man as Mr. *Foster* is serious, when he tells us, that he dislikes the Manner in which we read select Parts of the Epistles and Gospels in our Communion Service; but if he is seriously in Earnest when he says so, I have that Opinion of his Candour and Ingenuity, that I really believe he speaks what he thinks. I may wonder, indeed, at his Way of Thinking; but I do not think him to be punishable for it.

God only knows what Truth and Sincerity there is in the Pretences of Conscience that are made by the several Sects and Parties of Christians; but, as long as these Pretences are made with apparent Sincerity, we are to believe them to be sincere, till we can prove them not to be so, which is hardly to be done by those who do not and cannot pry into the Heart of Man.

The famous *Du Pin* was a judicious, a learned, and a moderate Man: He, in all his Writings, appears to have been a Man of Probity. He has suffer'd a great Deal for receding in several Things from the received Opinions of his Church, as he has done, particularly in his Account of *Nestorius*, and of the Second Council of *Nice*, in which Image-Worship was decreed: And therefore, though, in my own private Opinion, I think Transubstantiation to be a Doctrine of the most monstrous Absurdity and Contradiction; yet I most

most firmly believe, that *Du Pin* was sincere, when he maintain'd that absurd Doctrine; as, indeed, if it was looked on as merely speculative, it might be tolerated, if it had not been made a Back-Door to Idolatry, and had not Fire and Faggot been made Use of to force Men into the Belief of its strange Contradiction to their Senses and Reason.

The *Augustinian* and *Calvinistical* System of Predestination seems to me to be as contrary to God's moral Attributes of Justice and Goodness, as Transubstantiation can be to the Nature of Things: But, as I think, the Followers of St. *Augustin* and *Calvin* to be sincere, when they profess to believe this Doctrine, I am far from thinking, they ought, upon that Account, to suffer the least Sort of Persecution.

And in the same Manner, when good and pious Men shall tell me, that in their Consciences they really and firmly believe a Liturgy, a Surplice, the Sign of the Cross, or the Kneeling at the Sacrament, to be a just Cause of withdrawing from the Communion of the national Church, I fully own, that I cannot but wonder at such a Turn of Mind, at such a strange Way of thinking; but at the same Time I cannot but think, that fining Men for such Opinions, and hindering them from worshipping God in their own Way, by any Sort of penal Laws, is repugnant to the Spirit of Christianity, and to that Disclaiming of all infallible Authority, which is the main Ground and Foundation upon which the whole Work of the Reformation is built: And, upon the Whole, it is to be consider'd, that if this Ground is withdrawn, if this Foundation is shaken, the whole Building must be shaken with it, and may, indeed, fall to the Ground.

It

(a) It appears by *Cambden*, that Queen *Elizabeth*, from the very Beginning of her Reign, resolved not to tolerate the *Puritans*, who, however, do not seem so soon to have been form'd into a Party. *Rapin*, upon the Year 1593, tells us, that the first Act of Parliament (b) that was made against the *Puritans* was made in that Year, and that, by that Law, they were all obliged to conform to the Church of *England*. Such Laws are certainly not agreeable to the Spirit of the Gospel, nor to the Principles of Protestants, if consider'd by themselves: But then, *Rapin* should have added the Apology, which, B—p *Burnet* tells us, *Walsingham* made for the Laws, both against *Puritans* and *Papists*, that were enacted in that Reign: And, in Truth, if the *Puritans* were at that Time factious as well as the *Papists*, though not in the same Degree, nothing can be more evident than that they also ought to be restrain'd by Laws.

This, indeed, ought however to be done with this Difference, that, as the Principles of the *Papists* strike at the very Foundation of a protestant Government, or, indeed, of every Government the Pope shall happen to dislike; and that this cannot be said of the Principles of the *Puritans*,

(a) Protestantes illos, qui novandi studio abrepti, novam omnino politiam Ecclesiasticam tunc procudere cœperunt, tempestive comprimendos, nec nisi unam eandemque religionem tolerandam, ne religionis diversitas inter Anglos (gentem animosam & bellicosam) perpetuas seditionibus faces subjiceret. *Cambd. Ann.* 1558. p. 7. Vide rursus illud—Adœo ut regina istos tanquam homines inquieto ingenio, novitatis avidos, & ad bene instituta convellenda, paratissimos improbens, ad Schisma prævertendum severitatem legis de Uniformitate publicarum Precum ubique adhiberi mandaverit. Id. ib. p. 243. ad Ann. 1573. Vide ib. p. 537, 538. ad Ann. 1538.

(b) Vide *Rapin*. T. 5. p. 542.

the Laws against the *Puritans* ought not to be so severe, as the Laws against the *Papists*.

In general, however, certainly Religion is not to be made a Cloak for Faction : And though a scrupulous Conscience will, indeed, justify, or, at least, excuse a Separation from any Church, yet it can never justify seditious Practices against the State. And for this Reason, those who blame Queen *Elizabeth's* Laws against the *Puritans*, would do well first to consider, whether and how far the *Puritans* were or were not guilty of Faction and Sedition. I do not take upon me, for my own Part, to determine this Question on any Side : But, in general, I cannot but observe, that there is a great deal of good Sense and Reason in what *Walsingham* says in *Burnet's* History, and such Arguments as a Christian and a Protestant may assent to, without being called an Abettor of Persecution. " I find, says (c) *Walsingham*, her Majesty's
 " Proceedings towards *Papists* and *Puritans* to
 " have been grounded upon these two Principles,
 " the one, that Consciences are not to be forced,
 " but are to be won and reduced by Force of
 " Truth only, and with the Aid of Time and
 " Use of all good Means of Persuasion and In-
 " struction ; and the other, that Cases of Con-
 " science, when they exceed their Bounds, grow
 " to be a Matter of Faction, loose their Nature,
 " and Sovereign Princes ought distinctly to punish
 " their Practices and Contempt, though colour'd
 " with the Pretence of Conscience and Reli-
 " gion."

Matters, however, of this Kind were carried much higher in the next Reign, by King *James*

(c) *Walsingh.* apud *Burnet.* Hist. of the Reform. v. 2, l. 3. p. 418.

the First, against the *Puritans*. (d) *Rapin*, and, before him, *Thuanus* tell us, that King *James*, in his first Speech to his Parliament, frankly said, that *Puritans* ought not to be suffer'd in a well order'd Government. He added also, that the Church of *Rome* was the Mother-Church, though it had some Errors and Defect, as the *Jewish* Church had before the Coming of Christ; and that he would have the Rigour of the Laws against Papists to be abated. He distinguishes that Party into two Classes, the Laity, which he thinks may be tolerated, and the Clergy, who acknowledge the Pope's Supremacy, and which, indeed, he owns, must of Course be Enemies to Kings.

Thuanus, though a Catholick, does not seem much to like this Speech, and as little approves of another Speech, which that King made upon the Discovery of the Gun-powder Plot, in which he also inveigh'd against the *Puritans*, in *Puritanos invehit*, says (e) *Thuanus*. And even that Plot could not make the King to entertain a less favourable Opinion of the Papists. In a Speech he made to the Parliament upon that Occasion, he says, that it would be very unjust to think, that all Catholics entertain the Maxims and Principles upon which the Conspirators came into this Plot. And upon the Whole, the Edge of that Speech is entirely turn'd against the *Puritans*, whose Cruelty he declares, (f) deserves Burning, because they affirm no Papists can be saved. And yet, about

(d) Vide *Rapin*, T. 6. p. 25, 26. & *Thuanum*, vol. 5. l. 131. p. 967,—970. N. B. The two last Volumes of this Edition are entirely agreeable to Buckley's Edition.

(e) *Thuan.* l. 135. p. 1141. ad Ann. 1606.

(f) *Dignamque flammæ severitate Puritanorum sævitiam ducere, qui pontificium omnino ullum in cælum recipi posse negant.* *Thuan.* ib.

this very Time, when some *English* Catholics, and, amongst them the Arch-priest *Blackwell*, would have taken the Oaths of Supremacy to this Prince, they were absolutely forbid to take them by Pope *Clement* the Eighth.

All this, however, whatever (g) *Blandius* says, did not wake King *James* from what that Author calls, that King's fatal Lethargy, no, nor even the Contempt and Ridicule which his Book met with in all popish Countries whither he had sent it, and which, one would think, was sufficient to have thoroughly exasperated him: For this Book, as Father *Paul* says in his Letters, was (h) condemned at *Rome*, burnt at *Florence*, and every where else thoroughly despised.

In one Word, this King, though he could never get the Papists to think him a good Catholic, was yet a very bad Protestant. And this I shall endeavour to make appear farther, by what may be called an Anecdote, since I do not find it is taken Notice of by any other Historian but Father *Paul*, in his History of the Quarrel between Pope *Paul* the Fifth and the *Venetians*. We are told by that Author, what the Earl of *Salisbury*, Secretary of State to King *James*, said, by Order of the King, to the *Venetian* Ambassador, that when the King resolved to (i) assist the Repub-

(g) Rex — hoc ingenti periculo edoctus, tandem fatalem veterum excutiet, & regnare discet. Brand. Epist. Cent. 2. Epist. 54. p. 2022.

(h) Il re d'Inghiltera col suo libro si ha tirato adosso mota materia di disgusto, non e stato riceunto in Spagna, ricusato in Savoia, abbruggiato in Fiorenza, & condannato in Roma. Fra. Paolo Lett. 32. p. 189.

(i) — che il re non si muoue ad assistere alla Rep. per animo, che egli habbia di alienar le membra della Chiesa Romana dal suo Capo. Fra. Paolo, guerra di Paolo Quinto e de Venetiani, l. 3. p. 195.

lick, he did it not to persuade the Members of the Church of *Rome* to separate from their Head, which, indeed, he exhorts them not to do; neither did he act in this Manner, in Opposition to *Spain*, who were for the Pope; but what he did in that Affair was only in Order to oppose those who would take away from Princes, what he calls, their Liberty, that is, their Sovereign Authority; and that he would support and defend all those who asserted that Liberty; by which he means those who maintain'd the Independency of Sovereign Princes from the Pope. By this Answer of King *James*, I cannot but observe, that it appears, how much he was afraid of provoking *Spain* even before he could have a View for the *Spanish* Match, as also what a favourable Opinion he entertain'd of the Church of *Rome*.

I do not know, however, how to reconcile this Story with another which we have in Bishop *Burnet's* (k) Life of Bishop *Bedell*, and which relates to that Book of King *James*, that was mention'd before, his Pre-monition to Christian Princes. Father *Paul* and the other Divines, that writ in Favour of the Republick in this Quarrel with the Pope, were in great Hopes, that this Book of the King's would produce great Effects, and even occasion an entire Rupture between the Republick and the Church of *Rome*. Accordingly, they made Use of *Bedell*, that was his Chaplain, to press the *English* Ambassador Sir *Henry Wootton*, to present that Book immediately to the Senate. But *Bedell's* Entreaties were, however, in vain. Sir *Henry*, who lived in an Age of Conceits and Quibbles, was so obstinately and ridiculously fond of such Pieces of Wit, that he would not loose a Speech that he had made, on the Conceit of St.

(k) See *Burnett's* Life of B——p *Bedell*, p. 123—15.

James's Day and King *James's* Book: Neither could he be persuaded to present that Book, till the 1st of *May*, the Day of *St. Philip* and *St. James*. But, unfortunately for him, when that Day came, and he presented the Book, the Difference was made up, and the Ambassador was told by the Senate, they thank'd the King for his Book; but the Pope and they were now reconciled, and they were resolved not to admit any Change in Religion, according to their Agreement with the Pope.

It would be an invidious Undertaking, and at all Times improper, but especially now, to say any Thing of the penal Laws that were enacted, and often put in Execution, against protestant Dissenters, in the two following Reigns. I shall only observe, that what I have said of Murder, may be said of Persecution in general, namely, that it circulates, and when the persecuted Party prevails, the Persecutors are persecuted in their Turns.

Of this the good Archbishop *Cranmer* had a most fatal Experience. This Prelate burnt real or pretended Hereticks, even in the Time he promoted the Reformation, and had before got *Ann Asken* to be burnt, for denying Christ's real, or, as (*l*) *Heylin* expresses it, Christ's carnal Presence in the Eucharist, though himself afterwards was of the same Opinion: And in the fourth Year of *Edward* the Sixth, *Joan Kent*, an Anabaptist, and, in the next Year following, a *Dutch* Man, called *George van Par*, an *Arian*, were burnt as Hereticks; when, as *Heylin* speaks, the Gravity and Importunity of the Man had prevailed; and where,

(*l*) See *Heylin's* Hist. of the Ref. in the Hist. of *Edward* the Sixth, p. 88, 89. ad Ann. 1550.

first by the Lords of the Council, and afterwards by the Archbishop himself, the young King was persuaded to sign the Warrant, he told the Archbishop, that upon him he would lay all the Charge thereof before God.

We are, indeed, never to pry into God's Councils, nor search his Judgments. Nor ought we to dare peremptorily to determine to what particular Sins any Man's Misfortunes are to be ascribed. I am, for my own Part, very far from saying, with *Heylin*, that this Woman deserved the cruel Death she suffer'd merely for a speculative Opinion, which had no Sort of Influence upon Practice; and (m) Bishop *Burnet*, who was not such a Religious Fire-brand as *Heylin*, very freely condemns the Part the Archbishop acted in that unhappy Affair. But yet, I own, with *Heylin*, that it is an uncharitable Surmise, for any Man to say, that the Archbishop's Earnestness, to bring this Woman to that Punishment, did make him contract such Guilt, in the Sight of God, as to subject him to the like cruel Death a few Years afterwards himself: Many, however, will make such rash, uncharitable Judgments of those, who give such specious Pretences for them; and it was certainly very terrible for a Christian Protestant Bishop to urge this severe Treatment of Hereticks, when those that embraced that very Reformation he endeavour'd to plant in *England*, were all over *Europe* burnt as Hereticks: And such is the unforeseen Fate of Things, that this very Action of *Cranmer's* was made a Pretence for the Burning so many Protestants, and even *Cranmer* himself, in the Days of *Queen Mary*.

In the like Manner, in the Time of King

(m) See *Burnet's Hist. of the Ref.* vol. 2. p. 110.—113.

Charles the First, and of the Civil War that follow'd, penal Laws and Penalties circulated backwards and forwards, between the Church of England and the Dissenters. (n) Milton complains, that the Presbyterians taught Compulsion without Convincement, of which, not long before, they complain'd, as unchristianly executed against themselves.

The *Scotch* took it very ill the *English* Bishops should force upon them the Episcopal Government, and the Liturgy of the Church of *England*: But yet, in their Turns, the Covenanters of that Nation, thought it very right to oblige the *English* to receive their Discipline and Church Government.

The Dissenters had long called it Persecution in the Church of *England*, that they were not suffer'd to serve God in their own Way: But yet, when they came into Power, they were the very People who would not allow those of the Church of *England* to serve God in their own Way, and the Use of the Church of *England* Liturgy was at that Time prohibited under strict and severe Penalties.

All Sects and Parties amongst us have now, however, (God's holy Name be praised for it) better and truer Notions of Things, and, in this Respect, at least, act more like Christians and Protestants. No Sort of Persecution is now practis'd or defended in this Nation. All the Persecution, if it be to be so called, that is now practis'd amongst us, is, what I may call, libel and pamphlet Persecution. We all, indeed, pretend to assert and maintain Toleration and Liberty of Conscience; But this does not hinder, however, our

(n) Milton of the Long Parliament, p. 7.

Treating, in these paper Wars, all those with the utmost Virulence, who dissent from us either in Religious or Civil Matters. We are, in short, now come to that Height in these Matters, that we will allow no Man to be even sincere, that differs from us in any of these Particulars. I cannot but observe, however, to the Honour of this Sort of Stile, that it is particularly remarkable in the Writings of our Infidels and of our Male-Contents, in those who write against Religion, and in those who write against the Administration, unquestionably the purest Religion, and the best Administration that ever bless'd a Nation.

Nothing can be more certain, than that Protestants thus persecuting one another, is entirely contrary not only to the Spirit of Christianity, but also, as I hinted before, to the Principles upon which the Reformation is grounded. Persecution is not only an unchristian, but also a most absurd Practice in those who pretend to no Infallibility, to no Authority over the Consciences of Men; and who, by their Principles, must allow every one Liberty to enquire into the Grounds of those Doctrines that are proposed to their Belief, and even to dissent from those Doctrines, if they think them not to be clearly revealed in Scripture.

But though I am very ready to acknowledge there is no justifying Protestants thus persecuting Protestants; yet I cannot but observe, it is with a very ill Grace that those Persecutions are objected to us by the Church of *Rome*. To such Objections it is easy to answer, that there is in all Respects a most wide Difference between these and the Persecutions of that Church. The persecuted Protestants had no Edicts made in their Favour. Protestants do not hold, that no Faith is to be kept with Hereticks; and I know of no
Hereticks

Hereticks that ever have been put to Death by Protestants, except *Servetus*, *Valentinus Gentilis*, and the few that were burnt here in *England*, as mentioned before.

The *Calvinists* in *Holland* did, indeed, persecute the *Arminians* or Remonstrants after the Synod of *Dort*; but it is very well known, that this Persecution went no farther than Fines and Imprisonments, and that even these affected only a few of their Ministers, and none of the Laity suffer'd, either in their Liberty or their Properties.

We read of no Massacres of Hereticks by Protestants; no Massacre, like that of the *Albigens* in *Beziers*, of which I have spoken before; no Massacre, like those of the *Vaudois*, nearer our own Time; or like the Massacres of the Protestants in *France*, that have been mentioned in the former Part of this Discourse.

The Protestants in *Ireland*, of any Denomination, never return'd upon the Papists of that Kingdom the Massacre of their Brethren: Neither were all the considerable Papists, even at the Revolution, attainted at once, as the Protestants had all been in King *James* the Second's Bill of Attainder.

And it is to be remember'd, the Papists in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time suffer'd for high Treason, which no Pretence of Conscience can, as I have before observed, ever justify or excuse before God or Man.

It has been lately very justly said, that Protection and Allegiance, in all States and in all Governments, are ever reciprocal. All Governors have a Right to demand Tests of Allegiance from the People; and they, if they refuse these Testimonies of Allegiance, have no Title to the Protection of those Governors. Nothing can be more evident,

evident, than that (o) those, who refuse to acknowledge the King upon the Throne, and the Authority of his Laws, can have no Title to the Protection of that King, or the Benefit of those Laws; and that those, who avowedly and openly assert the Rights of a Pretender to the Throne, can make no Pretensions to any legal Rights and Privileges under him whom they call an Usurper.

If, as (p) that excellent Author afterwards observes, the Community assent to and approve of, and readily give the Test of their Obedience and Submission to the Person fix'd by the Legislature, any (q) Sect or Party, which refuses to join in that Assent with the Community, cannot expect the same Protection with the rest of the Community; and every one must see, that this is plainly the Case of every Papist, of every Convert to Popery.

A Man that professes he believes Transubstantiation, ought not, indeed, upon that Account to be denied Protection; but if every Man, that professes his Belief of Transubstantiation, refuses also, and in Consequence of other Tenets connected with that, his Allegiance to his King, his Profession of this Religious Notion does not, indeed, exclude him from the Privileges of a good Subject; but his Profession and Practice in Civil Life does: And this is the Reason that the Papists are the only Sectaries that have no Right to Toleration in *Great-Britain*.

How would the *Dutch*, it may be ask'd, deal with a Man that should publickly declare, he ow'd

(o) Enquiry how far Papists, &c. p. 8.

(p) Ib. p. 9.

(q) Ib. p. 9, 10.

no Allegiance to the States, and that the King of *Spain* was still the only lawful Sovereign of those Provinces: And as upon the *Jacobite* Principle there is no Prescription against an indefeasible hereditary Right, supposing the present Emperor to be a lineal Descendant of *Charles* the Great, he must still be the lawful and rightful King of *France*. But what would the King, or Nation of *France* say, or how would they treat any Man, that should assert the Right of the House of *Lorraine* to that Crown, against the House of *Bourbon*; and, upon that Pretence, declare, they ow'd no Allegiance to the King now upon the Throne.

To this, with the same Author, we must add, that the Papists, where they have Power, never tolerate any Dissenters from their Religion; that Pillons and Gallies, that Fire and Sword, that Inquisitions and Tortures, are the usual Manner in which pretended Hereticks are dealt with in that Church. And we may farther observe, that the (r) Papists refuse to abjure the Pope's pretended Power to depose heretical Princes; and that popish Princes think themselves bound by no Promises, no Treaties, no Edicts, that they, or their Predecessors have granted to or made with those they are pleased to call Hereticks; of which the late *French* Persecution, and, indeed, all the Persecutions of the Protestants in that Kingdom, are glaring Instances.

All these Considerations have the same Tenour and Tendency, and singly and jointly prove, that our Laws against Popery cannot be charged with Persecution; nay, on the contrary, they even prove, that Papists are more favourably treated in this Kingdom, than any Subjects would be treated in any other State or Kingdom, were they in

(r) Ib. p. 10.

the same Circumstances with the Papists here, and much more, were they guilty of the same Practices, of which so many of these have of late been guilty, who have appear'd in open Rebellion in the Northern Part of this Island.

And now permit me to add, that as in all Ages of the World there have been political as well as Religions Enthusiasts, who have recommended and applauded the Assassination of such Princes they have thought proper to call Tyrants, in the same Manner that others have applauded and recommended the Assassination of Princes they have called Hereticks, or Abettors of Hereticks; and as even many amongst ourselves also, (as appears very evidently from some of our late political Writings) have seem'd eagerly desirous of a Civil War, as what was almost necessary to redress our real or pretended State Grievances; I am apt to believe a short Essay, both upon Assassinations and Civil Wars, will not be judg'd an improper Conclusion to this historical Essay on Persecution.

I have Charity enough, even for the worst of our Enemies, to hope there is no Truth in the many Accounts we have had of the most wicked and abominable Designs upon the Life of our young Royal Hero. If there be, may God Almighty, who has been so gracious to frustrate their Designs, make them sensible of the monstrous Wickedness of them, and turn their Hearts. But with relation to the other Particular: We are now just relieved from the Miseries of a Civil War, which, indeed, we may very reasonably hope we shall never be so unhappy as to see return upon us. But if it should prove otherwise, and the late Rebellion should again be cherish'd, and meet with Success, which Providence avert, I am very certain, that it would add a new and terrible

rible Article to this History of Persecution ; and if it may be allow'd to judge by the Tempers, the Dependencies and Principles of the Persons principally concern'd in it, such an one as would exceed in Horror all that is past ; such, in short, as would put an End not only to all *British* Protestants, but would also abolish the very Name of the protestant Religion amongst us.

It is but too true, that Assassinations of pretended bad Ministers have been, some Years ago, publicly recommended to the People : And from these it is easy to observe, that the Assassinating the Prince himself will naturally follow, if he will not part with his Ministers. But let me observe, that whoever recommends such Practices, should consider, that inculcating such Doctrines justifies the Assassinations, the Poisonings, and all the other Methods of Destruction, that were projected against Queen *Elizabeth* : That the Advancing of such Doctrines justifies the Murders of *Henry* the Third and *Henry* the Fourth of *France* ; the first of which, at least, when it was committed, was approved and justified by the whole Church of *Rome*. But notwithstanding which, both these Murders are now, as they ought to be, condemn'd and disown'd, not only by all moderate Catholics, but even by the Jesuits themselves.

In general, indeed, this is a Doctrine of most pernicious Tendency, and which must finally subvert all Government, since it evidently leaves the Life of the Prince exposed to the Dagger or Poison of the first Fanatick in Politicks or Religion, that will take it upon him to charge him with Heresy or Male-Administration.

What we call the Voice of the People, a Thing so strangely talk'd of by some People, is, we should consider, no more than the Voice of those, who think in publick Matters as we do, and that every

every unthinking, ignorant Mechanick, whom we ourselves have taught, or, perhaps, drank into a Clamour against an Administration, the Voice of such a Man goes to make up that Voice of the People, which, when it suits our present Turn, we are pleased to call the Voice of God.

To such Judges as these, to this pretended Voice of God, by publickly asserting such Principles, we deliver not only a Minister, but also a Prince, and perhaps his Parliament to be destroy'd by an ignorant Multitude, heated with Rage and Liquor. The League of *France*, what was called the Parliament of *Paris*, the *Sorbonne*, together with this most sacred Authority the Mob, had declared (s) *Henry* the Third to be a Tyrant, upon his having caused the *Guises* to be murder'd. This, certainly, look'd very much like the Voice of the People, and therefore the Assertors of these Doctrines must allow, according to this Notion, it was lawful to murder *Henry* the Third; and, accordingly, this Rule was applied by the Jesuit *Mariana*, to the Murder of that Prince. (t) When a Prince, says that Author, is declared a publick Enemy, it is lawful to kill him with the Sword. If the States, or, in our Way of speaking, if a Parliament cannot be held, even a private Man, in Compliance with the Desires of the Publick, may kill such a Prince. (u) It would be better,

(s) See Daniel ubi supra, p. 262, 263.

(t) Principem publicum hostem declaratum ferro perimere, eademque facultas esto, cuicunque privato, qui spe impunitatis abjecta, neglecta salute in conatum juvandi rempublicam ingredi voluerit. Mariana de regis institutione l. 1. c. 6. p. 60. Vide Dict. de Bayle in Mariana, Note (F). Let. (f).

(u) Est quidem majoris virtutis & animi similitudinem aperte exercere, palam in hostem reipublicæ irruere: sed non minoris prudentiæ, fraudi & insidiis locum captare, quod sine motu contingat minori certe periculo publico atque privato. Mariana ib. c. 7. p. 65. apud Bayle ib. L. (i).

indeed,

indeed, the same Author says, to attack him openly, which is what has so lately been done by the Abettors of the Pretender amongst us: But if it cannot be done in that Manner, Fraud, according to *Mariana*, is a lawful Means to get rid of a Tyrant; and this Way of destroying him is of less Danger than the other both to the publick and to private Persons.

These are the dreadful but certain Consequences of that horrid Principle; *That it is lawful, by any Means we can think of, to destroy Persons in Authority, whose Government we do not like.* But this Doctrine, though ever and in its best Limitations, sufficiently abominable; yet, when the Governors, we thus go about to destroy, govern according to Law; when every Thing they do, every Step they take, has the Sanction of a Senate, or a Parliament, it must be own'd to be yet more monstrously wicked and detestable.

Resisting a King and Parliament, when acting in Concert, is a new Doctrine indeed, and is by no Means warranted, even by what was done at the Revolution. And Mr. *Addison*, upon the Pretender's Declaration in 1715. has very justly observed, that a *corrupt Parliament* is the Cant of every Minority, and a stale Pretence to justify Rebellion. It must, indeed, be own'd to be hard to submit to a Prince that goes about to subvert and overturn the Constitution. But certainly this is what was never yet done, by King and Parliament acting together, nor is it at all probable that it ever will.

Though a Parliament may, indeed, to please a Court, often take wrong Steps; yet, it is not probable, that such an Assembly, that is made up of our whole Nobility, and the best of our Gentry, will ever be likely to be *Felos de se*; or that they will ever agree to give up their Honours, their

Estates,

Estates, their Liberties, and even their Lives, to the Arbitrary Will of a Prince.

A Prince, acting against Law, may and ought certainly to be resisted, but then he is not to be assassinated; and the late King *William* has ever been commended even in *France*, for taking Care, that the *Life of the late King James should be preserved.*

It appears, indeed, from History, that the Assassination of real or pretended Tyrants, has almost ever been attended with very great Calamities. The Duke of *Orleans*, that was killed by the Order of the Duke of *Burgundy*, was certainly a bad Prince, and made but an ill Use of that Power, with which he was trusted, during the Fits of Madness of his Brother *Charles* the Sixth, King of *France*: But yet, this Assassination was detested by all the World, and even in *France* itself, notwithstanding the great Power of the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Contriver of that Murder.

All the Histories of those Times, *English* as well *French*, are full of the inexpressible Miseries *France* suffer'd, during the Civil Wars, which, upon that Murder, arose between the two great Factions of *Burgundy* and *Armagnac*, for so the Party of the House of *Orleans* was called.

A Doctor of *Paris*, *John Petit*, undertook to write an Apology for this Murder, which is printed at the End of Mr. *L'Enfant's* excellent History of the Council of *Pisa*. *Petit* makes an ingenuous Confession, which I wish was also made by some more modern Libellers and Party-Writers, who probably have generally as much Occasion for it. *Petit*, in short, honestly (v) declares there,

L

that

(v) — luy regardant que j'estoye trespetitement beneficié m'a donné chascun au bonne & grande pension pour moy aider

that he ow'd all his Subsistence to the Duke of Burgundy, who gave him good Pensions and therefore, out of Gratitude, he was obliged to undertake the Defending the Cause of that Prince.

We may see, in Mr. *L'Enfant's* Histories of the Councils of *Pisa* and *Constantia*, what Offence that monstrous Apology gave to all the Christian World. *John Petit* (*Jobannes Parvi*) goes upon this Principle; *that every Monarch, who proves a Tyrant, may (w) lawfully, nay, ought to be killed by any of his Vassals or Subjects, in whatever Manner it is done, whether by Force, by Fraud, by Flattery, notwithstanding any Oath the Vassal may have taken, notwithstanding any Confederacy or Treaty, without waiting for the Sentence, the Determination or Command of any Judge whatever!* This abominable Proposition overturns all human Society, and, if it be put in Practice, it is impossible any Government whatever can subsist.

(x) The University of *Paris*, however, took Cognizance of this Treatise, and Judges were named to enquire into the Doctrine advanced in it. And to them it was order'd some Doctors of Divinity should be added, of which the famous *Gerfon* was one, who was Chancellor of the University, and had all along taken great Pains in this Business. And on the Determination of these Judges, *Petit's* Doctrine was censured. His Book

a tenir aux escolles. De laquelle pension j'ay trouvé une grande partie de mes despens & trouveray encores s'il luy plaist de sa grace. *Petit Justific. du duc de Bourg. apud L'Enfant hist. du Concil. de Pise ad calcem, p. 304. col. 2.*

(w) Vide *Bibl. choisie, T. 10. p. 51. ex Du Pin Gersonianis. Vid. ib. p. 51, — 53. See L'Enfant hist. du Concil. de Constantine, T. 1. l. 3. p. 357, — 376. Vide Du Pin Bibl. Eccl. T. 12. p. 85.*

(x) Vide *Lenfant Hist. du Concil. de Pise, T. 2. l. 7. Num. 28, 29. p. 208, — 214.*

was

was order'd to be burnt; but the Duke of *Burgundy* having first appeal'd to the Pope, and afterwards to the Council that was assembled at *Constantia*, that Council was so far influenced by the Duke, that it could not afterwards ever be prevail'd upon to condemn this Doctrine, by the Name of the Doctrine of *Petit*: And, in short, a general Condemnation of the Proposition, without naming the Author, was all that could be obtain'd. And it is worthy Observation, that after this, when *Martin* the Fifth came to be chose Pope by the Council, he refused to give a (y) Sanction, even to this general Condemnation. This conscientious Pope, indeed, approved of what the same Council had done, in regard to *John Hus* and *Jerom of Prague*, whom they caused to be burnt as Hereticks for their Doctrines, and shew'd very plainly, that, in his Opinion, endeavouring to restrain the Pope's Power, and asserting the *Cup* ought to be restored to the Laity, were much greater Crimes than the Maintaining such murderous Opinions, that extinguish all Humanity, and are entirely destructive of all Government and Order.

This Pope, in short, not only refused to confirm the Condemnation of *John Petit's* Proposition, but avowing openly the same Principles, did the same with relation to the Book of one *Falconberg*, who asserted, that it was lawful to kill all the Subjects of *Poland*, together with their King.

And this Pope *Martin* the Fifth had also afterwards the Impudence, if one may be allow'd to speak thus of a Man in so high a Station, to for-

(y) See of the Propositions of *Petit* and *Falconberg*, which that Pope refused to condemn. *Lesant Hist. du Concil. de Constance*, T. 2. l. 5. p. 212, 213.

bid all Appeals from him to the Council, notwithstanding that he ow'd his Dignity to a Council, which had plainly and openly declared all Councils to be superior to the Pope; from which it follow'd, by a natural Consequence, that it was lawful to appeal: But it is very evident, that this was forbidden by that Pope, because he was afraid the *Poles* would appeal from his Refusal to condemn a Book, according to which every individual *Pole* was deliver'd into the Hands of any Man, who, by Interest or Revenge, should be prompted to kill him.

Here again I cannot but repeat an Observation I made before, how Assassinations and Murders circulate; and how those, by whom they have been first promoted or procured, generally perish by the same Means they have made Use of to destroy their Enemies. According to this general Observation, this Duke of *Burgundy*, who got the Duke of *Orleans* to be murder'd, was, in his Turn, murder'd also by the Dauphin, that was afterwards *Charles the Seventh*.

And here I must farther observe, that those who, to resist the Prince, or any other lawful and legal Power, make Use of Force and Violence, of Mobs and Riots, which generally end in Murder, justify the Prince, in using against them the same Force and Violence, which they use against him or his Ministers. This was the Plea (z) *Henry the Third* made to *Ornano* and *Lognac*, when he order'd them to rid him of the Duke of *Guise*. The King said, it was no more than an Act of Justice and was the Execution of Justice against the most guilty Man of his Kingdom; against a Man, whom, by all divine and human Laws, he was au-

(z) See *Daniel hist. ubi supra*, p. 243.

thorized to punish, and since he could not do it by the common Forms of Justice, he was obliged to make Use of this extraordinary Method of Proceeding, which he thought he might very well do, by vertue of his Royal Authority.

I must needs own that I am very far from approving of this Plea of *Henry the Third*. I am very sensible, on the contrary, that no Crime can justify the Committing of another, nor any Royal Power justify putting a Man to Death, without any Form of Law. All I have to say in regard to Things of that Kind is, that Civil War and Rebellion destroy, and, as it were, annihilate all Laws for the Time they last.

If Subjects think all the Ways to be lawful, which they employ against the Authority and Life of their Prince; in Spite of Law and Gospel, Princes in Return will turn Casuists for themselves, and will, against Rebellious Subjects, make Use of the same Means of Destruction, which, by those Rebellious Subjects, are made of Use against them. (a) *Machiavell* very justly observes, that violent illegal Ways, even of asserting Liberty, are very dangerous in free States, and are finally destructive of that very Liberty, which, by such Means, they pretend to defend.

And here I must beg Leave to observe, that the *Italians* have always been fond of this Notion, how glorious it was to kill a Tyrant, in order to restore the Liberty of their Country. These People cannot but still look upon themselves to be the Descendants of the old *Romans*, notwithstanding that they are so much degenerated from them,

(a) ——— quando questi humori non hanno oude sfogarsi, ordinarimente ricorrono à modi straordinarii, che fanno rominare in tutto una Republica. Mach. Discorsi sopra Livio. l. 1. c. 7. p. 19.

because they inhabit the same Country, and will not consider, that they are, indeed, not the Descendants of that brave and virtuous People, but the Spawn of the *Goths*, the *Vandals*, the *Lombards*, and all those other barbarous Nations, that, in the Decline of the *Roman Empire*, made themselves Masters of *Italy*, and by whom *Rome* itself was so often taken and plunder'd, and to which is possibly owing, that the present *Rome* has nothing to show for its past Splendor, but some ancient Ruins.

These Successors, however, though not the Descendants of the old *Romans*, are very proud to ascribe to themselves all the Honour and Glory of that formerly great and victorious People, and this notwithstanding that they are, in Reality now, the most abject Slaves in the World, especially to the Court of *Rome*, and bear patiently, because they cannot help it, the Oppressions both of the Pope and their other Princes; which, though they have not Spirit or Courage to redress, yet they complain of very freely, especially to Foreigners.

This they indeed very frankly did at *Florence*, under the Government of the late Great Duke *Cosmus* the Third; and fewer Taxes, with fewer Prayers, was the common Cry at *Rome*, during the Pontificate of *Clement* the Eleventh, who, as he pray'd much, so he loaded his Subjects with the most heavy Taxes.

Hence it is, that the Killing of Tyrants is spoken of so honourably by the *Italian* Historians. There is something very solemn, in the Account (b) *Machiavell* gives of the Conspiracy against *Galeas* Duke of *Milan*, and of the Murder of that Tyrant, under whom, neither the Honour of

(b) Mach hist. Fior. l. 7. p. 301.—304.

Women, nor the Lives and Properties of Men, were safe. One of the Conspirators, *Andreas Lampagnano*, was so clearly persuaded of this being a just and honest Action, that the Day before the Conspiracy was to be put in Execution, he went in a most solemn Manner, and fell upon his Knees before the Statue of St. *Ambrose*, the Patron of that City, and in a most (c) fervent Prayer, which we have in *Machiavell*, pray'd to that Saint, that he and his Accomplices might succeed in that glorious Undertaking.

How little the *Italians*, indeed, scruple at Assassinations, appears also very clearly in the Story, we have in *Machiavell*, of the Conspiracy of the *Pazzi* against the Family of *Medicis*, which, indeed, was in Reality design'd by Pope (d) *Sixtus* the Fourth, against the Republick of *Florence* itself.

The Pope's Nephew, Cardinal *Riario*, was concern'd in this Conspiracy, and the Archbishop of *Pisa*, another of the Accomplices, was hang'd for it in his pontifical Robes. The Assassination was carried on, by the most intimate Friends of those that were design'd to be murder'd, and was perform'd during High Mass in the Dome, or Cathedral, of *Florence*; and the Signal agreed on for it was the (e) Elevation of the Host, the most

(c) O padronee di questa nostra città, tu fai l'intentione nostra, & il fine a che noi vogliamo metterci à tanti pericoli; sia favorevole à questa nostra impresa, è dimostra che la ingiustitia ti dispiaccia. Mach. ib. p. 303.

(d) Vide Mach. ib. l. 8. p. 306,—316. ad Ann. 1478. See of the Share the Pope had of this Conspiracy, Bayle Dict. in the Article of *Sixtus* the Fourth, Note (A). Vide Mach. ib. p. 308. Vide ex Onuphrio Panvinio Bayle Nouv. de la Rep. des Lettres, T. 5. p. 470. Mai 1685.

(e) — nel mezzo del Divino ufficio nella celebratione del Sacramento. Mach. ib. p. 319.

solemn Part of popish Worship. At that great Ceremony of the Religion of the Murderers as well as of the Murdered, *Julian* of *Medicis*, whom one of the Murderers, his intimate Friend, had inveigled into the Church, was killed, and his Brother *Lorenzo de Medicis* narrowly escaped.

This Conspiracy was, indeed, abhor'd by all the World, because a Pope, a Cardinal, and an Archbishop, were concern'd in so foul an Assassination; and because the Church, High Mass, and the Elevation of the Host, were chosen as the Time and Place to perpetrate the horrid Act: And it was certainly a very just Complaint of the *Florentines*, on this Occasion, that the Pope should order Assassinations to be committed in the Places of publick Worship, and raise Assassins, who had been concern'd in them, to the first Prelacies in the Church.

Under this Pretence also of freeing his Country from Tyranny and Tyrants, another *Lorenzo de Medicis* kill'd the first Great Duke of *Florence*, (*f*) *Alexander de Medicis*, his near Relation, and whose principal Favourite he was.

We have an imperfect Account of this Incident, in a little-Book printed some Years ago in *London* in *Italian* and *English*: But *Gratiani*, Bishop of *Amelia*, has given a noble and more particular Account of the whole tragical Story, in his Book *de Casibus Virorum illustrium*.

These Tyrant-killing Principles, however, it may not be improper to observe, we owe in a

(*f*) *Alessandro primo Duca di Fiorenza dal ingrato e crudele Lorenzo de Medici Confidentissimo e Familiare, restò iniquamente e proditorio mente, sopra 'l proprio letto, amazzato—Vide Bibl. Angloise, T. 8. p. 481. Lorenzo was afterwards murder'd himself at Venice. Vide Mez. Abr. T. 4. p. 602, 603. ad Ann. 1536.*

great Measure to the great Commendation and Praises, that are given by ancient Historians to the Killers of Tyrants. Such were *Harmodius* and *Aristogitan*, who, by the Murder of (g) *Hipparchus*, deliver'd *Athens* from the Tyranny of the Sons of *Pisistratus*. *Herodotus* and *Thucydides*, indeed, differ in their Opinions about the Consequences of this Murder: For *Herodotus* says, the (h) *Athenians*, after they had recover'd their Liberty, shew'd much greater Instances of Valour and Courage, than when they lived under the Government of their Tyrants; (i) because, says he, before they fought for these Tyrants, but now they fought for themselves. But *Thucydides* disagrees with him in this, and pretends, that *Athens* was never happier than under the Government of *Pisistratus* and his Family. (k) A Love Affair, and an Affront they pretended to have received, were, according to *Thucydides*, the Motives which drove the Conspirators upon what the Historian calls, that rash Enterprize, and which, he says, was undertaken against Reason, and was merely the Effect of a disappointed Passion.

Thucydides had, indeed, been banish'd *Athens*, and lived in Exile twenty Years, (l) as he tells us himself. He lived also, we know, all that Time

(g) Vide *Herodot.* l. 5. c. 55, 66. p. 308,—312. Vide *Mach. Disc.* l. 1. c. 58. p. 112.

(h) Ἀθηναί. ἐοῦσαι καὶ πρὶν μεγάλαι, τότε ἀπαλλαχθεῖσαι τυραννῶν, ἐγένοντο μέζοντες. *Herodot.* ib. c. 66. p. 312.

(i) — κατεχόμενοι μὲν, ἰδελοκάκιον, ὡς διοκτοῖα ἐργαζόμενοι· ἰλοιδερωθέντων δὲ, αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἐν αὐτῷ προουδομῖστο κατεργαζοῦσθαι. *Herodot.* ib. c. 78. p. 317.

(k) — δι' ἐρωτικὴν λυπὴν ἢ τε ἀρχὴ πῆς ἐπιβολῆς, καὶ ἡ ἀλόγιστος τόλμα. *Thucyd.* l. 6. c. 59. p. 382. Vide ib. c. 54,—59. p. 379,—382. Ed. Oxon.

(l) — ξυγέθη μοι φεύγειν τὴν ἑμαυτῷ ἔτη ἕκαστος. *Thucyd.* l. 5. c. 26. p. 307.

amongst the *Peloponnesians* the Enemies of *Athens*; and it is observable, that he always takes their Part against his Countrymen. And it is probably for this Reason that he speaks, in this Manner, of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, and of the Happiness of *Athens* under, what the *Athenians* in his Time call'd, the Tyrannical Government.

On the contrary, *Herodotus*, though he speaks, indeed, of the Disorders and intestine Divisions, that follow'd the Expulsion of the Tyrants, yet, as I hinted before, he says, *Athens* was never greater nor happier than after that Expulsion.

I shall not take upon me to decide this Controversy between those two great Historians, but shall however observe, that in one of the Epistles (m) ascribed to *Phalaris*, he is brought in giving Thanks to *Policletus* his Physician, that he did not kill him, that his Art got the better of a Tyrant-killing Sickness, and that he found he was not desirous of those Honours that attend the Killing of Tyrants.

To return, however, to *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, notwithstanding what *Thucydides* says, it is evident that the *Athenians*, many hundred Years after, had the same great Opinion of those two Conspirators that *Herodotus* had.

Dio Cassius, like the other Greek Historians, blames very much the Murder of *Cæsar*, and both he and *Appian* pretend, which all History shows to be false, that *Rome* was much (n) happier under the Emperors, than under the Consuls; or, as *Dio* expresses it, that *Rome* was much happier

(m) ——— ἡ μὴ γὰρ ἰσχυρὸς τυραννοκτόνον νεύματα παῖδας δὲ νεώτερος, τιμὰς τυραννοκτόνους. Phil. ep. 70. p. 49. Ed. Oxon. 1718.

(n) Vide Appian in præfat. p. 5. Vide Dion. Cass. l. 44. p. 272, 273.

when it was a Monarchy, than it was when a Republick. But yet, it is to be remarked, that the same *Dio* tells us, that all the World admired the Murderers of *Cæsar*, *Brutus* and *Cassius*, for what they had done; and says farther, that the *Athenians* erected to them (o) brazen Statues, near those of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, whose Example they had so nobly follow'd; and tells us before, how *Brutus* and *Cassius* were pleased with being call'd the (p) Killers of Tyrants, the Deliverers of *Rome*, or Deliverers of the World, as *Brutus* calls himself and his Associates in a (q) Letter to *Cicero*.

This Murder of *Cæsar* however, notwithstanding all the fine Things that were said about it, had not such happy Consequences, as to recommend it as an Example to the Imitation of Posterity. Inexpressible were the Miseries, both publick and private, that follow'd upon this Murder of *Cæsar's*. Such were civil Wars, Proscriptions, the Triumvirate, and the most unheard of Tyranny, and wanton Cruelties of those Monsters of Men, *Caligula*, *Nero*, and *Domitian*. To which we may also add *Caracalla*, whose Tyranny *Dio* himself had seen and felt; and concerning whom it is to be remarked, that it is certainly very strange that such a Man could say, that the *Romans* were happier under the Emperors than under the Consuls; when, amongst other Instances of *Caracalla's* Tyranny, he tells us, that he got (r) twenty Thousand

(o) εἰκόνας σφισι χαλκας, &c. *Dio* l. 47. p. 386.

(p) ——— ἐλσιθέμεται τυραννοκτόνοις ἡνωμαζόμενοι. *Dio* ib. l. 44. p. 292. Vide eadem apud *Appian*. de B. Civ. p. 821, & 885.

(q) ——— Liberatoribus orbis terrarum. *Brut.* ad *Cic.* inter *Ep. Cic.* ad *Brut.* Ep. 16. p. 140. See that whole Epistle translated by *Dr. Middleton*. *Life of Cic.* T. 3. p. 363.—370.

(r) Vide apud *Xiphilinum* *Dionem* in *Caracalla*, p. 347.

Men and Women to be kill'd, because he suspected them to be Friends to his Brother *Geta*, whom he had murder'd before.

I shall only add upon this Head, with relation to the Murder of *Cæsar*, what *Plutarch* observes, that what he calls, the (*f*) *Dæmon* of *Cæsar* constantly pursued his Murderers, and that they all died violent Deaths; an Observation that is also made by (*t*) *Suetonius*, *Dio Cassius*, and *Machiavell*. It is here necessary to observe, that, by a Tyrant, the Ancients understood one that broke in upon the fundamental Constitution of a State, and who went about to change a free Government into a Monarchy; by which they always understood absolute Monarchy; and that the Tyrants they thought it lawful to kill, were those who went about to change a State of Liberty and Obedience to Laws, into a State of Slavery and Obedience to Men; into a State, in which, as (*u*) *Brutus* and *Machiavell* express it, Men have more Power than the Laws.

This was the Case of *Pisistratus* and his Children: This was the Case of *Cæsar*; and this was the Case of *Phalaris*, (*v*) *Clearchus*, *Alexander Phereus*, and all the petty Tyrants of *Sicily* and *Greece*, whose violent Deaths are mentioned by Historians with so much Satisfaction and Applause.

(*f*) ὁ μέγας Δαίμων αὐτοῦ. Plut. in *Cæsare*, p. 740.

(*t*) Vide Suet. in *Cæs.* c. 89. Dion. Cass. l. 48. p. 407. Mach. Disc. l. 3. p. 227.

(*u*) — ne patri quidem meo, si reviviscat, (concefferim) ut, patiente me, plus legibus ac senatu possit. Brut. ubi supra, p. 142. — io stimero sempre poco, vivere in una città doue possino meno le leggi che gli huomini. Rinaldo Albrizi apud Mach. Hist. Fior. l. 4. p. 175.

(*v*) Vide de *Clearcho* Justin, l. 16. c. 5. de *Alex. Phere.* Vide Plut. in *Pelopida*, p. 297, 298. Diod. Sic. l. 16. p. 418.

We have lately, in this Nation, been engaged in the Miseries of a Civil War, for which, some Years ago, many of the then Libellers against the Government, so earnestly pleaded; and that Revolution, to which some of these infamous Writers ascribe all our real or pretended Grievances, has, to the Terror of all honest Minds, been in Danger of being over-turn'd; and it appear'd very uncertain what would be the Fate of that protestant Succession, under which these mercenary Scriblers some Time ago asserted, that we have seen nothing but a continual Series of Male-Administration since it has taken Place.

How far such false, infamous and wicked Assertions as these were proper Methods to keep out Popery and the Pretender, I will not take upon me to determine; but we had very lately Reason to fear, how the Success of that Undertaking, against our Religion and Liberties, would decide that Question.

One of the dreadful Grievances, that fills all these Scriblers Mouths is, it seems, our being engaged in the present War Abroad. It is not my Business here to enter into Particulars, but this I shall venture to assert in general, from History, that our concerning ourselves in the Affairs Abroad, our supporting the Liberties of *Europe*, and opposing an universal Monarchy, has been the Principle and Practice of all our Princes and Ministers till the Time of the *Stuarts*: And we very well know, that it was the chief Objection against the Government of that Family, that they did not endeavour to obstruct, but, indeed, rather seem'd to promote by Turns the growing Power of those two great Monarchies, *Spain* and *France*, whose every Accession of Power was thought so dangerous to our own Liberties in particular, as well as to the Liberties of *Europe* in general.

Every

Every one, that knows any Thing of the late History of this Nation, must know, how earnest King *James's* Parliaments were for a War with *Spain*, and for the Restitution of the Palatinate to the Son-in-law and to the Grand Children of that King. And *Grotius*, in the Letters he writ during his Embassy into *France*, in the Time of King *Charles* the First, complains, that the *English* would enter into no Treaty with *France*, about the Restitution of the Palatinate, and, that the (*w*) *Palatine* Family was forsaken by its nearest Relations: That they consumed themselves in (*x*) fruitless Embassies; and that nothing but (*y*) Comedies, Songs and Balls were heard of in the Courts of *England* and *France*, whilst the *Palatine* Family perish'd: And it was a very wise Advice, that great Man gave the Court of *England*, upon the Beginning of the Troubles in *Scotland*, that the (*) Suspensions, that were entertain'd of the Court's favouring Popery, would soon die away, if they did but appear hearty in supporting the *Palatine* Family, and the Protestant Interest, both in *Germany* and other Parts of *Europe*.

Sir *William Temple's* Memoirs are in the Hands of all the World; and in those we may see, what Notions not only Sir *William* himself, but also all *England*, nay, all *Europe*, had of the strict Alliance that was between *Charles* the Second and

(*w*) — Palatinae domus a proximis suis derelictæ. Grot. Ep. 642. p. 261. col. 1.

(*x*) — fatigat se illa gens legationibus plerumque irritis. Id. ibid.

(*y*) — Et Anglica & Galica aula strepunt comediis & choreis pereunte interim Palatino. Ib. ep. 181. p. 686. col. 1.

(*) Credibile est multas iniquas suspiciones immortituras, ubi palam adjutari res Palatini ac Protestantium apparuerit. Grot. ibid. Ep. 1103. p. 496. col. 2. Vide Ep. 1105. p. 491. col. 1.

Lewis the Fourteenth of *France*. *England* did not then think, it was not to concern itself with the Affairs of the Continent, when the whole Nation was so overjoy'd at the News of an (z) offensive and defensive League that was at that Time concluded between *England* and *Holland*, which, however, came to nothing. (*) The House of Commons, that in 1677, address'd King *Charles* the Second for a War with *France*, was in the same Way of Thinking, and so were the Parliaments that brought in the Bill of Exclusion, as plainly appears from their Debates that have been lately twice reprinted.

It is most evident to all thinking Persons, that we now feel the unhappy Effects of those Councils, by which we then suffer'd *France* to conquer *Flanders*, and have since given up by Treaty those strong Towns we had taken from them in a successful War. And what Accessions of Power *France* had acquired by these Concessions, how it is again grown more formidable than ever, we now feel by our Misfortunes both at Home and Abroad.

The *French* are again Masters of *Flanders*. *Lewis* the Fifteenth has carried his Conquests there much farther than his Great Grand-father could do: We have dissolved the Grand Alliance, which is never more to be renew'd: And all the Powers in *Europe* now shift for themselves, when they have found, by fatal Experience, that the most solemn Treaties have been, and are still, broke on all Sides, and that no Regard, either to Reputation or Interest, can keep together Allies, which the

(z) See Temple's Mem. p. 319.

(*) See these Addresses in Marvel's Growth of Ropery, p. 102, 103. State Tracts 1689. Sir William Coventry that great and true Patriot made the Motion.

greatest Regard to both ought to have made constant to the common Cause.

I wish, with all my Heart, that my Reader could say these Observations were an improper Digression from my main Subject, or promise me, that the Consequences of these Proceedings, which, both at Home and Abroad, we have felt this fatal Year, do not end in completing this History of Persecution. We have, indeed, now a much better Prospect before us, than we could a short Time since have possibly expected we should. Our Deliverance seems to be finish'd by the Conduct and Courage of our Illustrious Hero, but the Scars will long remain, even after our Wounds are cured. And we shall long feel the Miseries of that Civil War, that is so lately and so happily concluded.

It is observed by *Dionysius Halicarnassæus*, the supposed Author of a Life of *Homer* publish'd by Dr. Gale, that that great Poet ever brings in his Heroes detesting a Civil War. He alludes, in this Observation, to a Passage in the (*) ninth Iliad, where, upon a Quarrel that was like to rise between *Diomedes* and *Agamemnon*, *Nestor* inveighs against those who delight in a Civil War: And it is very well worth observing here, that it is particularly a Civil War that he has express'd his Detestation of there, and not War in general, as Mr. (+) *Pope* has thought fit to translate it, that he might have an Opportunity for a Tory Speech

(*) Αφέντως, ἀθέμιστος, ἀνέσιος ἔστιν ἐπαινος,
ὅς πολέμῳ ἑαται ἐπιδημίῳ,

(+) Curs'd is the Man, and void of Law, and Right,
Unworthy Property, unworthy Light,
Unfit for public Rule, for private Care,
That Wretch, that Monster that delights in War.

Pope *ibid.*

against the Whigs that disliked the Peace of *Utrecht*.

Indeed, all true Patriots have ever abhor'd Civil Wars, which are generally owing to the Ambition and Resentment of the Heads of the several Parties, into which a State is divided. From the Character History gives us of *Epaminondas*, we may gather, that such Motives would never have engaged that great Man in a Civil War: And *Cornelius Nepos* tells us, that, however that great Man was injured by the People of *Thebes*, he even thought it a Crime ever (a) to be angry with his Country. The same is also observed of him by *Valerius Maximus*, who says also the same Thing of *Fabius Maximus*, and the first *Scipio Africanus*: And yet we are told by History, how both those great Men were injured by a factious People; that not only (b) *Marcus Minutius* was made equal to *Fabius* in his Command, but *Varro* was even prefer'd to him, when they both were Candidates for the Consulship; which Election alone occasioned the Loss of the Battle of *Cannæ*, and was like to be follow'd with the utter Ruin of *Rome*.

Every one knows the Story of (c) *Scipio Africanus*, whose only Revenge for the Injuries he had

(a) Vide illud "Non solum populi sed etiam amicorum ferens injurias. Corn. Nep. in Epaminondas, c. 3. p. 226.—Epaminondas, cum ei cives irati, sternendarum in oppido vicarum contumeliæ causa curam mandarent—sine ulla cunctatione id recepit. Val. Max. l. 3. c. 7. Ex. ext. 5.

(b) Dictatori ei magistrum equitum Minucium jure imperii fenatus æquaverat, silentium egit. Compluribus præterea injuriis laceffitus, in eodem animi habitu permansit, nec unquam sibi Reip. permisit irasci. Val. Max. ib. c. 8. Ex. Rom. 2. Vide Liv. l. 22. c. 23, 30.

(c) Vide Liv. l. 38. c. 52, 53.—Vitam Liturni egit, sine desiderio urbis. Morientem rure eo ipso loco sepeliri se jussisse ferunt, monumentumque ibi ædificari, ne funus sibi in ingrata patria fieret. Liv. ib. c. 53.

received from his Country, was to complain of its Ingratitude, and to resolve his Bones should not be laid where he had met with so much undeserved ill Usage.

But notwithstanding that these are great Characters in History, and acted as true and glorious Patriots in this and every other Incident of their Lives; yet it is to be acknowledged, that *Cicero* even steps before them in it; this great Man almost in every Part of his Writings, shows his Abhorrence and Detestation of Civil Wars. This great Man, during the whole Time he was concerned in the publick Affairs; nay, indeed, during his whole Life, had seen nothing but one continued Scene of Dissentions and Civil Wars, by which, at last, both *Rome* and himself were involved in one common Destruction, and has left us his Sentiments on this unhappy Subject, that any Peace with his Fellow Citizens, whatever were the Conditions upon which that Peace was made, was better for the Common-wealth than a Civil War.

According to this Opinion, this true Patriot did all he could to prevent a Rupture between *Pompey* and *Cæsar*; and, as he wish'd that *Pompey* had never contracted any Friendship with *Cæsar*, so he (*d*) wish'd also, that when he once had contracted one, he never had broken it. *Cicero* foresaw a Civil War must be a necessary Consequence of that Breach, and that such a Civil War must draw after it the Ruin of the Republick, and the Loss of Liberty: And for this Reason he says, he was fond of a Peace, though even upon unequal

(*d*) Utinam, Cn. Pompei, cum C. Cæsare societatem aut nunquam coisses, aut nunquam diremisses. Cic. Phil. 2. c. 5. p. 418. Ed. Delph. Lond.

Terms. He thought, that for the (e) Citizens of Rome to have Peace with one another, was of more Benefit to the State, than any Civil War could be. And in his thirteenth *Philippic*, he sets out, in the strongest Colours, his Abhorrence, his Detestation of those, who (f) delight in, or call for a Civil War. Such Men, he says, have no Sort of Regard to the private and domestick Relations of Life; and that those can have no Value for either Law or Liberty, who take a Pleasure in intestine Divisions and in the Civil Discords and Murders of their Fellow-Citizens. Such Men, indeed, not only deserve to be banish'd from human Society, but they should be consider'd no longer as Men, and should be look'd upon as sworn Enemies to the rest of the Species. This, in the Main, is the Sense of the Words of *Cicero* on this Occasion. These were the Sentiments of that great Man, which, in his own Writings, are deliver'd with that Beauty, that Energy and Ardour with which all true Patriots, like *Cicero*, will express their Abhorrence and Detestation of those who court a Civil War; of those who, by inflaming Civil Dissentions, and by equally railing at all Administrations, do all that lie in their Power to bring upon their Country those inexpressible Calamities, those Devastations and Murders, that attend a Civil War.

With no less Energy also does *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Pompey*, set forth the Grief of the Sol-

(e) — mihi enim pax omnis cum civibus bello civili utilior videbatur. Id. ib. c. 7. p. 423.

(f) — nec privatos focos, nec publicas leges, nec libertatis jura, chara habere potest, quem discordiæ, quem cædes civium, quem bellum civile delectat: eumque ex numero hominum ejiciendum, ex finibus humanæ naturæ exterminandum puto. Cic. Phil. 13. initio. See Middleton's Life, ubi supra, p. 168.

diers of both Parties, when, just upon the Battle of *Pharsalia*, they saw they must now (g) cut one another's Throats; and use against one another those Arms, which, under these two invincible Generals, they might have subdued that Part of the World that still remain'd unconquer'd; nay, even those two great Chiefs themselves, who were resolved to satisfy their Ambition, though at the Expence of their Country's Ruin, even they, as (b) *Appian* tells us, were not free from Remorse and Grief, when they consider'd the dreadful Consequences that must attend that fatal Undertaking, they were yet determin'd to pursue.

But it is not only the true and glorious Patriots of all Ages that have been fam'd for these Sentiments, even the pretended Patriots, such is the Amiability of Virtue even to those who are not possess'd of it, have, in as warm and interesting Terms, declared their pretended Abhorrence of those very Civil Wars, which they themselves had fomented and kindled. *Cæsar*, in *Petrone*, declares, that it was dreadfully against his Will that he bore Arms against his Country, from which he was driven, whilst he was conquering for *Rome* its greatest and most dangerous Enemies the *Gauls* and *Germans*.

“*Testor ad has acies invitum accessere Martem,*

“*Invitas me ferre manus, sed vulnere cogor,*

“*Pulsus ab urbe mea, dum Rhenum sanguine tingo,*

“*Dum Gallos iterum capitolia nostra petentes.*

“*Alpibus excludo.*

And that it was the Blood of the *Germans*, and his sixty Triumphs, that made him appear guilty in the Sight of his Enemies.

(g) Vide illud *Plutarchi* ὅπλα γὰρ συγγήμια, *Plut. in Pomp.* p. 556.

(b) Vide *Appian. de B. Civ.* p. 780, 781. l. 2.

“*Sanguine*

“ *Sanguine Germano, sexagintaque Triumphis,*

“ *Ecce nocens capi.* — — — — —

The Case of *Cæsar* was the same with that of our great Duke of *Marlborough*, who was, after all his Conquests, made a Sacrifice to our new Allies the *French*, who were determin'd, if possible, to gain that Point, that his Disgrace might atone for the many Towns he had taken from them, and the many Battles he had won, in nine successive Campaigns, without ever raising a Siege, or losing a single Battle.

The Duke of *Marlborough*, on this ungrateful Treatment, like a true Patriot, chose a Sort of voluntary Banishment, rather than make his Country feel the Miseries of a Civil War. *Cæsar* was not so moderate; he boldly enter'd on a Civil War to restore, as he pretended, the Liberties of the People oppress'd by the Senate. What a Restorer of Liberty, indeed, *Cæsar* was, appears from what we are told by *Dio Cassius* himself, who, though a Panegyrist of *Cæsar's*, though an Enemy to Liberty, and a Friend of absolute Monarchy, (i) gives us several Instances of *Cæsar's* Cruelty, and says, that he at length came to that Pitch of Arrogance and Insolence, as almost to think himself (k) immortal. In short, he made so ill an Use of his Power, that we are told by *Suetonius*, he deserved to die as he did, and brought his Death upon himself by, what that Author plainly intimates was, a tyrannical Government.

But even though *Cæsar*, like other Patriots, had made Patriotism a Step to Greatness and Power; though by the Arms he pretended to take up for the Cause of Liberty, and to free the People from

(i) Vide *Dionem*, l. 47. p. 247, 248.

(k) — — — — — *ὡς ἀθάνατος ὢν.*

the pretended, and often too real, Oppressions of the Senate, he had enslaved both Senate and People; yet even when engaged in the Civil War, as well as before he was engaged in it, he constantly profess'd an Abhorrence of all Civil Wars, and always pretended he was forced into it by the ill Usage he met with from his Enemies, which, indeed, in a great Measure, was but too true. Such Usage, however bad, cannot indeed justify a Civil War, for private Wrongs are never to be revenged upon the Publick, by carrying Fire and Sword into the Bowels of our Country: And he ought to have consider'd, that the greatest Part of the Citizens of *Rome* could not help, nor had any Share in those private Wrongs, which he had suffer'd from particular Persons, and which it was not in the Power of the greatest Part of the *Romans* to controul or restrain.

If any Resentment, however, if any Wrongs or Injuries received, could justify beginning a Civil War, *Cæsar's* Enemies, by their partial Conduct, furnish'd him, as *Plutarch* observes, with the most (l) specious Pretences any Man ever had, by whom a Civil War was begun. Whatever were the Motives that were made Use of by *Cæsar*, to bring over *Curio* to his Party, who was then Tribune of the People; nothing seems more reasonable, than (m) *Curio's* Motion in the Senate, that both *Pompey* and *Cæsar* should quit their Provinces, and dismiss their Armies; which Motion was also carried in the Senate, notwithstanding all the Artifices of *Cæsar's* Enemies. Nothing, certainly, could be more unfair, than to oblige *Cæsar* to

(l) — τὴν ὑπερπεσάντων καίσαρι τῶν προφάσεων μηχανώμενος.
Plut. in *Cæfare*. p. 723.

(m) Vide *Hirtium de Bello Gallico*, p. 411, 412. l. 8. Ed. *Cæf. Var.*

part with (n) two Legions, under Pretence of a *Parthian War*; which Legions afterwards, against an express Resolution of the Senate, were detain'd in *Italy*, and deliver'd to *Pompey*. *Hirtius*, from whom we have this Account, is follow'd by (o) *Plutarch*, *Appian*, and *Dio Cassius*. Even then, says *Hirtius*, though it was doubtful to no one, that it was resolved to make War against *Cæsar*, yet, whilst there were any (p) Hopes of composing Matters amicably, he resolved to suffer any Thing that should be done against him, rather than enter into a War. *Pompey's* Party was for a Civil War, rather than granting any of *Cæsar's* Demands; and if we are to take *Cæsar's* Word in this Matter, the Consul *Lentulus* went so far, as to say, that, if the Senate did any Thing in Favour of *Cæsar*, he would provide for himself; and would (q) have no Regard, nor pay any Obedience to the Authority of the Senate. And (r) *Scipio*, in Behalf of *Pompey*, said, that, if the Senate would follow him, *Pompey* would not fail nor forsake the Republick: But, if the Senate used any Delays, and went about to act more moderately, (lenius), it would be in vain afterwards for that Assembly to implore his Assistance. Such was the Freedom those great Assertors of Liberty allow'd the Senate in their Debates; and this was the Re-

(n) Vide *Hirtium* ib, p. 413, 414.

(o) Vide *Plut.* in *Pompeio*, p. 649,—651. in *Cæsare*, p. 722, 723. *Appian* de *Bello Civile*, l. 2. p. 734. *Dion. Cass.* l. 40. p. 170, 171. l. 41. p. 171, 172.

(p) — *Cæsar* omnia patienda esse statuit, quoad sibi spes aliqua relinqueretur jure potius disceptandi, quam belli gerendi. *Hirtius* ubi supra, p. 415.

(q) — neque senatus auctoritati obtemperaturum. Vide *Cæ* s. de *Bello Civ.* l. 1. p. 426.

(r) *Cæs.* ib. p. 426, 427.

gard they declared they would pay to the Supreme Legislative Power of the State.

Cicero, in an Epistle written to (*f*) *Tiro* his Freeman, in his Name and the Name, of his whole Family, complains, that, in both Parties, there were some who were for War; and, in the next Epistle, says, that a strange Sort of Fury had seized not only bad Men, but even the Good of that Party, which, he thought, had Justice on its Side: That it was in vain he had remonstrated, nothing could equal the Miseries of a Civil War; and though the Conditions, offer'd by *Cæsar*, were not very honourable, yet he (*Cicero*) was for (*t*) accepting of these Conditions.

It is of these Conditions *Cæsar* speaks, when he says, he (*u*) waited for an Answer to, what he calls, his most moderate Demands; and if they were granted, which he hoped they would be, if there was any Equity in Men, then a Peace would ensue. It is not very easy to reconcile what *Cæsar*, in his Commentaries, says of the Message for Peace, he sent by (*v*) *Magius* to *Pompey*, with what he also himself says, in (*w*) one of his Letters that *Pompey* sent *Magius* to him; and this Contradiction seems, indeed, to favour the Opinion of those, who (*x*) think *Cæsar* was not the Author of

(*f*) — mirus invaserat furor non solum improbis, sed etiam his qui boni habentur, ut pugnare cuperent, me clamante, nihil esse bello civile miserius. Cic. Ep. fam. l. 16. Ep. 12. Vide etiam ib. Ep. 11.

(*t*) — Accepimus conditiones—Cic. ib. Ep. 12.

(*z*) — Expectabatque suis lenissimis postulatis responsa. Cæs. ubi supra, p. 436.

(*v*) Vide Cæs. ib. p. 465. & vide Comm. in locum.

(*w*) Vide inter epistolas Ciceronis ad Offic. l. 9. ep. 16. Cæs. Epist. ad Appium Pompeius est Brundisii, misit ad me Cu. Magium de pace, quæ visa sunt respondi.

(*x*) This was once the Opinion of *Liepsius*, vide *Scaligerana*, p. 142. *Florus Sabinus* will have it, that neither the Books de *B. Gallico*, nor the Books de *B. Civ.* are *Cæsar's*. Vide *Voss. de Hist. Lat.* l. 1. c. 13. p. 61. Ed. 1627.

these

these Books *de Bella Civili*. But if this Passage be *Cæsar's*, it shows, that he would, at least, be thought to desire Peace, and to abhor a Civil War.

Nothing is more beautiful, nothing is wiser; nothing shows a greater Desire of Peace, than *Cæsar's* Message by *Vibullius* to *Pompey*, just before the Battle of *Pharsalia*. (y) *Vibullius's* Instructions were to remonstrate to *Pompey*, that both of them ought to put an End to their Obstinacy, and not to try Fortune any longer, since both of them, in this very War, had experienced how uncertain the Chance of War was; both of them had met with bad Successes, which are there recounted: That it was a Time to treat of Peace, when they were both upon a *Par*, and each of them had equal Reasons to hope for Victory, or to fear a Defeat, and that it would be too late to treat of a Peace after a decisive Battle, after which the Conqueror would think himself at Liberty to prescribe to the Conquered what Terms of Peace he thought fit. *Cæsar* refer'd himself for the Conditions to the Senate and People, and said, that if they both dismiss'd their Armies and their Auxiliaries, then it would be necessary for both to be determin'd by their Judgment.

Cæsar tells us himself, (z) with what Scorn these Terms were rejected by his Enemies, and that when he propos'd the second Time to send Ambassadors to *Pompey* to treat again of a Peace, and sent *Vatinius* to desire *Pompey* and his Friends, that Citizens might no longer fight with Citizens, *Labienus* gave them this rough Answer, That,

(y) Erat autem hæc summa mandatõrum debere utramque pertinaciæ finem facere, & ab armis discedere, neque amplius fortunam periclitari, &c. *Cæs. de B. Civ. l. 3. p. 587, 588.*

(z) Vide *Cæs. ib. p. 595.—597.*

without (a) they brought *Cæsar's* Head, there could be no Peace.

I do not at all design what I have said here, as a *Manifesto* for *Cæsar*. On the contrary, I am very sensible his Patriotism was nothing but a disguised Ambition, and that his Popularity, and his setting up for an Assertor of the Rights and Privileges of the People, was only to cover the Design he had to enslave them. In this Respect *Cæsar* and *Pompey* were both alike. Absolute Power was the Aim of both, of him that pretended to espouse the Cause of the Senate, as well as of him that pretended to vindicate the Liberties of the People.

Cicero tells us, that Dominion and Power was the Aim both of *Cæsar* and *Pompey*. He tells us, that *Pompey* wish'd for a Power (b) like that of *Sylla*, which he would exercise in the same cruel arbitrary Manner. He wanted, in short, to be another *Sylla*, and longed to proscribe his Enemies after the Manner he had done.

Much the same was also true of *Cæsar*, and the Account I have given of his pretended Unwillingness to engage in a Civil War, was only to show, that Civil Wars were always so universally detested and abhor'd, that, in order to preserve their Cha-

(a) Tum Labienus, definite ergo de compositione loqui : nam nobis, nisi Cæsaris capite relato, pax esse nulla potest. Cæs. ib. p. 597.

(b) Quem crebro illud, Sylla potuit, ego non potero ?—— Ita Sylla furit animus ejus & proscripserit diu. Cic. ad Att. Lg. Ep. 10. Vide ib. Ep. 7. & l. 11. Ep. 6. See Middleton's Life of Cic. vol. 2. p. 291, 292. This justifies what *Lucan* makes *Cæsar* to say.

Et docilis Syllam scelerum vicisse magistrum.

Luc. l. 1. p. 9. Ed. Grot. Vide rursus illud,

Cum duce Syllano gerimus civilia Bella.

Luc. l. 7. p. 119.

racter with their Friends, even the Authors, the Promoters, the Incendiaries of those unnatural Wars, thought fit always to seem to detest, what they themselves had raised and kindled.

This Piece of Policy was, however, far from being peculiar to these *Romans*; and Cardinal *de Retz* has observed the same of the Prince of *Conde*, who always seem'd to abhor that Civil War, into which he declared he was driven by the real or pretended Male-Administration of Cardinal *Mazarine*, who was indeed, if we narrowly enquire into his Character, perhaps more a bad Man than a bad Minister.

Whether that, however, be true or not, we are told by (c) Cardinal *de Retz*, that the Prince, by his Inclination, by his Education, and by his Principles and Notions of Things, was, without Exception, the Man he had ever known, that most disliked a Civil War.

We have very lately had ourselves a Civil War raging within the Bowels of this Kingdom. The Depopulations, by which so many of his Majesty's Subjects, in both Parts of the Island, have been ruin'd; the Stagnation of Trade; that Fall of publick Credit, the Height of which some among us have formerly seem'd to think to be a national Calamity; our being continually alarm'd with Reports of Foreign Invasions; our Properties, our very Lives lying at the Mercy of a Rabble of Banditti, who, with Impunity, ranged through so large a Part of the Island. These have been the Consequences of that Civil War, so long wish'd for by some amongst us; and had it not been suppress'd as it was, What alas might not have follow'd?

(c) Vide Cardinal de Retz Mem. T. 4. p. 302.

This, however, I hope at least, will be one good Effect of our late Misfortunes, that all Ranks of People amongst us are now united, in Abhorrence of that unnatural Attempt against our Religion and Liberties: And we are now, I promise myself, firmly united in Abhorrence of Popery, which we now believe always was, and always will be, a persecuting Religion.

Church Lands and publick Funds will make even those guard against it, who, if there be any such amongst us, seem the People who have but very little Sense of Religion left; who seem to know no other Difference between Protestantism and Popery, but that it is only by the former that our Properties can be secured, which must be all lost and swallow'd up by the latter, if a popish Pretender should ever prevail and conquer.

The late Alarm will have also, I hope, another good Effect, that is, that we shall no more be left defenceless: That this powerful Nation, this Nation, which so justly boasts of its native Valour and Courage, we, who call the Sea our own Element, and our impregnable Fortrefs, I trust, shall be no longer frighted out of our Senses by an inconsiderable *French* Fleet, when the whole Ocean is cover'd with our own Ships of War. Neither will this strange and deplorable Mischief, any more appear amongst us, of Devastations committed by a Band of Robbers, in Defiance of so many thousand Men, that are actually in Arms for their King and Country, and who cannot but be able to withstand and defeat a much greater Number of such contemptible Enemies.

In Times of publick Danger, every Man, tho' never so inconsiderable, has a Right to remonstrate and represent what, he thinks, is like to prevent the Calamities we fear, and to remove those we labour under. And for this Reason, notwithstanding,

withstanding my very private Station in Life, according to the Duty of my Profession, one Thing more I beg Leave to recommend to the whole Nation; and that is, that, at this critical Juncture, at a Time when our Remembrance of our Deliverance is yet warm within us, we may show, and really have a greater Sense of Religion, than has of late appear'd amongst us.

The many Books that have of late appear'd in the Nation, in Defence of Infidelity, and in Defiance both of Natural and Reveal'd Religion, make our Neighbours doubt, whether, whilst we pretend to be afraid of being persecuted for our Religion, we have any Religion to lose: Nay, the Papists Abroad, especially in *France*, even reproach us with the Books that are writ amongst us in Defence of Christianity. They say, that if few such Books are publish'd amongst them, and if they seldom preach upon these Subjects, it is, because their Congregations are not made up of Deists and Atheists. And taking Advantage of these our Follies, they pretend, that nothing but the Authority of an infallible Church can quell this Spirit of Infidelity.

These weak Reasoners will not consider, that it is necessary that a Man should be first a Christian, before he can acknowledge and submit to the Authority of a Christian Church; and that this Church and its Authority can be own'd only by such as believe those Scriptures, from which alone we can know, that there is a Church.

However, as bad as this Logick is, it is an Argument that makes but too great an Impression upon many Persons, to the Disadvantage of the Protestant Religion, and of those Protestant Churches, in which, both at Home and Abroad, Infidelity walks so bare-fac'd; and even learned Men, of the *Romish* Communion, have taken Occasion

casion from hence to believe, that a Protestant, if he reasons consequentially, must, of Course, be an Infidel.

As Atheism is the Bane of all Government, and as no human Authority can be any longer obey'd, than it is supported by Divine, any longer than it is supported by Religion; I hope a Christian Nobility and Gentry will not want a due Regard to Religion to be recommended to them from the Example of those, who were at the Head even of Heathen Government. Our Christian Generals I hope, will not want to learn from *Xenophon*, that a (d) well-disciplin'd Army, Soldiers that are duly exercis'd in military Arts, and who pay a due Obedience to their Commanders, if, withal, they honour the Gods, then it is that they can entertain reasonable Hopes of Victory and Success. And if, like the *Roman* Magistrates and Senators, our great Men, before they (e) speak in our publick Assemblies, would make, in a most solemn Manner, their Addresses in Prayer to God, Faction and Corruption would no longer prevail in our Councils and Debates.

It would likewise do great Service to the Government, if our great Men would more frequently be present at the publick Worship, and not so absolutely forsake our Religious Assemblies. This publick Worship, when perform'd with Devotion, and by those whose Example would soon be follow'd be the rest of the World, would bring

(d) — ὅτι — Θεὸς μὲν αἰσχροῖν τὰ δὲ πολέμια ἀσποῖεν. πεδὰρ-
χῆν δὲ μελατῶν, πῶς οὐκ ἔκκευκται πάντα μετὰ ἐλπίδων ἀγα-
θῶν εἶναι. *Xenoph. Ἑλληνικά*, l. 3. c. 4. Num. 18. p. 171. Ed.
Oxon.

(e) — Quum solemne carmen precationis, quod præfari, pri-
usquam populum alloquantur, magistratus solent, peregrisset con-
sul. *Liv. l. 39. c. 15.*

down God's Blessing and Protection upon us. This would secure our publick Peace, and enable us to bid Defiance both to our Domestick and Foreign Enemies. Whatever Sense, whatever speculative Notions of Religion, particular Men entertain'd in *Greece*, and especially at *Rome*, a Face, and an outward Appearance of Religion, was still ever preserved by the greatest amongst them. And Religious Worship was ever a publick, national, universal Practice, to which even the (f) *Epicureans*, those who believed in no God, or at least no Providence, equally resorted with those that believed those two great Fundamentals of all Religion. And even *Cotta*, in *Cicero*, when he was just about making the most formidable Objections he could think of, against these great Truths, yet declares, that all (g) Religious Ceremonies, that were establish'd by publick Authority, ought, however, to be punctually practised.

To conclude, since it has pleased God now to compleat our Deliverance, it is to be hoped our Prayers will now be turn'd into Thanksgiving, and that in the Words of the Psalmist, we shall sing Praises unto that God, who giveth Salvation unto us, and who hath deliver'd *David* his Servant from the Peril of the Sword, who hath deliver'd both him and us, from the Hand of strange Children, whose Mouth speaketh Vanity, and their right Hand is a right Hand of Falsehood. A Christian Protestant Nation; a Nation, once so famous for

(f) Novi ego Epicureos omnia sigilla numerantes. Cic. de Nat. Deo, l. 1. c. 30. p. 70. Ed. Dvif. 1718.

(g) — ut opiniones, quas a majoribus accepimus de Diis immortalibus, sacra, caerimonias, religionesque defenderem. Ego vero eas defendam semper, semperque defendi: nec me ex ea opinione, quam a majoribus accepi de cultu Deorum immortalium, ullius unquam oratio aut docti aut indocti movebit. Cic. ib. l. 3. c. 1. p. 247.

having a great and a most serious Sense of Religion, will not sure, upon this great Deliverance, deserve from their Historians, that Reproach of Ingratitude to the Deity, which an Heathen Author charges upon the *Romans*; but as it has pleased God to deliver us from Popery and Arbitrary Power, we shall not, I trust, do like the *Romans*, after they were deliver'd from *Hannibal*, Whether or not, like them, we have in our Calamity, as it were, tired out God with our Prayers, I hope it will not be said of us, as *(b) Livy* says of them, That we have a greater Sense of Evil than of God, and that we take no Care to return the Almighty Thanks for our Deliverance.

(b) Segnius homines bona quam mala sentire. Transitu in Italiam Annibalis, quantum terroris pavorisque, sese meminisse, quas deinde clades, quos luctus incidisse? Visa castra hostium ex muris urbis: quæ vota singulorum, universorumque fuisse? quoties in conciliis voces, manus ad cælum porrigentium auditas? En unquam ille dies futurus esset, quo vacuum hostibus Italiam bona pace florentem visuri essent? Dedit tandem id Deos sexto decimo demum anno: nec esse qui Diis grates agendas censeant. Liv. l. 30. c. 21.

F I N I S.

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